THE GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE BUDGET.

President.—Before we begin the general discussion of the budget, I must draw the attention of the Members of this House to Standing Order 56, which says:—

"If notice of a motion to omit or reduce has not been given five clear days before the day on which the demand is to be considered, any Member may object to the moving of the motion and such objection shall prevail unless the President, in the exercise of his power to suspend the Standing Order, allows the motion to be made."

So far as these cut motions on the various items in the budget are concerned, I wish to point out to the Members that they will, as far as possible, try to keep to the rules of the 5 days, and I should think that, having regard to the various cut motions and to the motions being sent to me at a late hour, I find it difficult to arrange the printing of these cuts for circulation in time. So, I propose to adhere to the time-rule prescribed here. That is to say, if a motion is not submitted within the 5 days as prescribed in the Standing Order, I will not admit the motion.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—May I bring to your notice when the budget was sent to us? It was only Sunday before last.

President.—I think one week back.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Just one week's time. I am sure. It takes a lot of time to prepare and study these figures. We have had very short time to do justice to the budget, and at pressure we have been sending these cut motions.

President.—You mean to say that it will take a long time to go through the items?

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Certainly; if you want to study it properly. If you want only randum cuts we can send them in numbers. As far as possible, those who study the thing have to think out the reasons and note the reasons on the back of the motions, and then send them up. One week is very short.

President.—You have got five days before the day of the general discussion and voting of that particular item. That is what I say. The difficulty is in the matter of printing and circulating it a day previous to the day on which that particular demand is taken.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—I appreciate that part of it, that there is a great difficulty in getting it printed and circulated. What I am submitting on this point may be taken note of, and Government should try that we get the Preliminary Budget two weeks earlier.

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President.—We have enough difficulty. You do not know the detailed processes through which we have to go before we send it to you.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—That is what I am persisting; we require a number of days to study it.

Mr. K. S. Rama Ayyar.—Sir, before the general discussion of the budget, may I ask for certain information from the Finance Member regarding some items in the budget? In the statement of liabilities and assets, are the endowments in the custody of the Government also included in the item shown as 'deposits'.

Mr. C. A. Ouseph.—You refer to liabilities.

Mr. K. S. Rama Ayyar.—Yes, I am referring to the liabilities of the State.

President.—You refer to endowments also.

Mr. K. S. Rama Ayyar.—The name does not appear there.

President.—The point is whether the deposits include the endowments.

Mr. K. Krishna Pisharodi.—They are included.

Mr. K. S. Rama Ayyar.—Now I come to the detailed account No. 6, Abkari and Ganja, page 5 of the budget, Receipts. A.—Abkari, (b)—Arrear collections and (c) Interest on arrears. The interest on the arrear collections for 1103 is more than the principal. It is so in the revised estimate; there also the interest is more than the principal. In the actual amount of 1101 also the interest is more than the principal.

Mr. C. A. Ouseph.—That is a very elementary thing which could be explained.

Mr. C. Achyuta Menon.—The interest shown there is not the interest on arrear collections. The arrear collections may be greater. The interest is paid every month on arrear collections. If the kist is not paid in a particular month, interest on such arrear has to be paid.

President.—Here the arrear collection is put as Rs. 1,000 and interest on arrears as Rs. 1,600. What I understand is that the interest on arrears shown there is not the interest on the arrear collections only. The interest can only be on the amount of arrears to be collected. Is it not so?

Mr. V. B. Vaidyanatha Ayyar.—Arrears might relate to whatever amount which is now in arrears. It may not be limited to the arrears shown here. Interest on arrear collections will be certainly more. The whole of the arrears may not have been collected. We do not show the arrears.

President.—The arrears may amount to Rs. 10,000.

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Mr. V. B. Vaidyanatha Ayyar.—It is only an estimate of the arrear collections.

President.—Then a more precise method will have to be taken not to keep any arrears.

Mr. C. Achyuta Menon.—I shall explain. A toddy shop-keeper has to pay kists on certain fixed dates. If he does not pay them on those particular dates, they are considered as arrears. The arrear collection shown in the budget is only the estimated arrears at the end of the year. But during the year interest is collected on these monthly arrears. That is this interset on arrears shown there, or the estimated interest on arrears.

President.—Even on the current collections interest will be collected.

Mr. V. B. Vaidyanatha Ayyar.—That is the interest on arrears.

President.—But then that was not the answer you gave. We are liable to commit mistakes, and we must be careful in not vitiating the answer in this fashion. You laid emphasis on the arrear amounts to be collected, and it has no reference to my question. It is not likely that all the amounts of arrears would be collected in a particular year, and whatever reasonable amount is collected in that year is noted here. The arrears may be even Rs. 10,000 as Mr. Achyuta Menon pointed out now. Even in the matter of this interest which is put in as Rs. 1,600 it has reference not to the interest on arrear collections alone, but it has also bearing on the current collections. So far as the current collections are concerned, you will have to pay the amount every month, and, if the amount is not paid, it will carry interest, and so this amount of interest is given to be as Rs. 1,600 on the basis of the current collections. That is what Mr. C. Achyuta Menon said.

Mr. V. B. Vaidyanatha Ayyar.—I said that, so far as arrears are concerned, arrear collections for 1103 are really the amounts which were in arrears in 1102.

President.—That may be true.

Mr. V. B. Vaidyanatha Ayyar.—That is what I say.

President.—You put here arrear collections as Rs. 1,000, and interest on arrear collections as Rs. 1,600. On the face of it, it is wrong.

Mr. V. B. Vaidyanatha Ayyar.—I said interest on arrears under the head B.

President.—You said; but we did not understand you. Is the matter clear, Mr. Rama Ayyar?

Mr. K. S. Rama Ayyar.—I understand. Will not the same conditions apply to arrack shops also?

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Mr. V. B. Vaidyanatha Ayyar.—Quite so.

Mr. K. S. Rama Ayyar.—You will see that under the head "Rent on independent arrack shops" the interest is less than the principal.

President.—It need not be the same. Probably it may be more or it may be less. It is only a probable estimate.

Mr. K. S. Rama Ayyar.—If what the Hon'ble Member for Excise says is right, should not that condition be found existing in the probable estimate for the arrack shops also?

President.—But you see as against Rs. 4,61,950 in the case of toddy shops, you have got only current collections of Rs. 92,000 and odd under arrack shops. The interest becomes due the moment the default is committed. The interest will depend upon the amount of principal.

Mr. K. S. Rama Ayyar.—Page 7.

Mr. A. B. Salem.— Sir,.....

President.—If two persons are standing, it is imposible to conduct the proceedings. I object to the rising of one Member when another is standing.

Mr. K. S. Rama Ayyar.—Budget head XIII, page 7, Interest.—Interest on Co-operative loans — actuals in 1101 is Rs. 5; the revised estimate for 1102 is Rs. 444; and the estimate for 1103 is Rs. 2,082. As far as I know, there are only one or two loans which may be classed as co-operative loans. May I ask how these amounts vary like this?

President.—These are all matters on which information has to be furnished.

Mr. K. S. Rama Ayyar.—As far as I know, there are only two loans out-standing.

Mr. K. Krishna Pisharodi.—But the amounts are pretty large.

Mr. K. S. Rama Ayyar.—Has the Hon'ble Member the details with him?

Mr. K. Krishna Pisharodi.—There are details, and I shall give you the information. The registers are not here. They are in the office.

Mr. K. S. Rama Ayyar.—I shall have the information afterwards. Now I come to page 15. XXVII.—Advances repayable. During the budget session for 1101, I pointed out that figures may be given against each sub-head. It is so done on page 37. But here the total is only given.

President.—Do you follow, Mr. Krishna Pisharodi?

Mr. K. Krishna Pisharodi.—Yes, Sir. The figures can be given as there is no difficulty.

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President.—Can you not show them so far as this also is concerned ?

Mr. K. Krishna Pisharodi.—It is only the approximate amount that is put here.

President.—On the disbursement side it is quite alright. Is it only the approximate amount ? When you give an answer you should say whether the figures on both sides are approximate, and that the particulars could also be given. I only wanted to correct your answer. I suppose there is no difficulty now. The figures may be given in the next budget as suggested by you.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Page 5, Abkari Receipts. There is no arrear collection estimated for the year 1103 under "Ganja' (b).

President.—We do not anticipate any arrear accruing under 'Ganga.'

Mr. V. B. Vaidyanatha Ayyar.—Because the whole of the arrears till the end of 1102 has already been realised, and, therefore, there will be no arrears for 1103.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—I am only asking for information why we do not estimate any arrears under that.

Again, Sir, under rebate duty on Ganja (page 6) the estimate is Rs. 10,200. May I know the actual amount of rebate that we will get from the British Government ? The revised estimate for 1102 shows an amount of Rs. 15,300. That is the point I am asking.

President.—In the estimate for 1103, you put it at Rs. 10,200. How do you get it ?

Mr. V. B. Vaidyanatha Ayyar.— In 1101 it was Rs. 15,300 and so we estimated Rs. 15,300 for 1102 but the revised estimate is only Rs. 10,200. Therefore, the same amount was put in the budget estimate for 1103.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Is the quantity of ganja you are getting, then, less ?

Mr. V. B. Vaidyanatha Ayyar.—It all depends upon the consumption.

President.—Is not the quantity of opium fixed ?

Mr. V. B. Vaidyanatha Ayyar.—With regard to ganja, there is no such restriction.

President.—Then, if you get more, you would get more rebate ?

Mr. V. B. Vaidyanatha Ayyar.—We would have got more this year as rebate. But this year I indented for a consignment of 300 seers, as usual, early in March. As the duty was raised from Rs. 20 to 22½ per seer from April this year, the British Cochin Deputy Collector asked me to remit the differ

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ential duty also, but at the time when the excess duty was remitted, the month of March was over. So we did not get the consignment as indented for before April. Hence the decrease in the amount of rebate for 1192. We get rebate only from April to March on the quantity purchased. The increase of duty is to our advantage.

President.—So that should we not get more in 1103 ?

Mr. V. B. Vaidyanatha Ayyar.—It would be more. When the budget was sent, we had not this information. We generally estimate the amount received for one year for the next year also, but we do not know whether the same quantity of ganja would be consumed in the next year also.

President.—Will you correct the wrong figures in regard to rebate ? In my statement I put the rebate on opium as Rs. 13,200. The figure is not really correct. What is the real rebate amount ?

Mr. V. B. Vaidyanatha Ayyar.—It would come to Rs. 59,000 and odd.

President.—In the Excise budget a corresponding amount was found on the receipt side which comes to Rs. 57,200 and odd. Is that the correct amount ?

Mr. V. B. Vaidyanatha Ayyar.—It will be the correct amount, if we calculate the rebate at Rs. 44 per seer.

President.—Is not that amount correct ?

Mr. V. B. Vaidyanatha Ayyar.—I understand that that was the amount given out by the Excise Commissioner, Madras. But, subsequently, I came to understand that the duty is Rs. 47. It is Rs. 3 in excess and deducting Re. 1 for centage, we are entitled to get Rs. 46 per seer.

President—I suppose there is no reliable information about the duty being raised to Rs. 47.

Mr. V. B. Vaidyanatha Ayyar.—The duty and cost price come to Rs. 75 now. When last time I remitted the same into the British Cochin Treasury, the Treasury Officer showed in the receipts granted Rs. 38 as cost price and Rs. 47 as duty. From that I understood the duty to be Rs. 47.

President.—Is there any objection for us to put it at Rs. 44 ?

Mr. V. B. Vaidyanatha Ayyar.—Absolutey no objection.

President.—Then, that can be changed to Rs. 57,200.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—Progress is the key-note of the policy of Government !! Mr. President, Sir, we have met here to-day to discuss the last budget of the First Council. Two precious years have been left behind us, and our constituents have

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been critically watching us in our struggle to secure greater freedom for our Legislative Body, so that this assembly may be made truly the voice of the people controlling the executive, or in other words, the most important part of the Government. Representative and responsible Government which is our *ideal* would be nothing, if the Legislature is not given full power to control the other branches of the Government. And it would be only a mockery, if its existing powers are restricted by the Government even in matters where the Legislative Council is given full freedom to act. Interference by the Official President of the Council has thwarted the work of the members; has made it impossible for the Members to confer and introduce wholesome legislation suited to the requirements of the people; has reduced our august assembly into an impotent body which may have to discuss only some un-important matters throughout the year, while it ought to be legislating to the urgent needs of the people.

Our President has been pleased to say, when the last legislative session of the Council was prorogued, and yesterday also when the present session was opened, that "Progress is the key-note of the Policy of the Government". It is worth our while to know how far our President, who is also the head of the present Government, has been tolerating progress within the Council, how far he has helped our Council to become a truly efficient body, and how far he has come down from his official pedestal, and shook hands with the representatives of the people in their attempts to advance the cause of the people through this assembly.

I shall deal with the attitude of the President regarding the question of amending Standing Order 6 (2) which deals with the procedure of introducing to non-official bills and resolutions in the Council. If our Council wants to lay claim to be a Progressive Legislative Body, the first thing that it must secure is the right to every Member to have a chance during the life-time of a Council to introduce at least a single resolution *of his own choice*. There is not much use in having a Legislative Institution, if its work would not be allowed to be regulated so as to give opportunities to the Members to represent the grievances of the people, and to have them redressed.

The work of our Legislative Council is now regulated by Standing Orders which are provisionally enacted with Regulations and Rules by the Government themselves. The Regulation has clearly given the power to the Council to amend these Standing Orders for the efficient and progressive working of the Council. This is only as it ought to be. The best way to transact

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business of the Council, so that it may serve the interest of the people, is a matter that has been rightly reserved to us by the Regulation itself. But I am sorry to bring to your notice that the President, by a series of technical arguments, opposed to the wordings and spirit of the Regulation, has denied to us this privilege of amending the Standing Orders, and thereby has taken away our legal rights and privileges.

How he has infringed our rights, and how serious are the consequences, I shall now place before you.

Mr. C. A. Ouseph.—On a point of order, Sir. The Hon'ble Member is discussing about certain actions of the President. Such discussions are prohibited by the Rules.

Mr. George Chakyamuri.—Especially, questioning the ruling of the President.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—This is the only opportunity for us to place before the Council our grievances. Rule 48 clearly says that.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—We do not question any ruling of the President.

Dr A. R. Menon.—We are only placing certain facts before the Chair.

Mr. S. S. Koder.—No, it is questioning the ruling of the President.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—That is the Hon'ble Member's opinion. I am presenting my view. I do not pretend to take my view from the Hon'ble Member for Mattancheri.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—Under Rule 48, any question of principle involved therein may be discussed. I stand on that. This is the only time during which we can place our grievances before the Council. Though it comes under the budget head, that the general discussion should not be in the form of a motion, other grievances also may be placed. We do not find a place where we can place our grievances against certain rulings of the President.

President.—You can meet in public and make representations.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—That I shall do if necessary later on. But, now I am to place before my colleagues what actually took place here and what the President actually did.

President.—You have not got the provision here. Would you say on that ground you must be allowed to do so? Everything must be regulated by rules.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—There is no other place where we can bring our complaint.

Mr. C. Achyuta Menon.—You can bring a cut motion on the Legislative Council.

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Dr. A. G. Menon.—There also the same difficulty will arise.

Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Verghese.—That can never be got over.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—I am not now questioning the ruling of the President, but placing certain facts before him to get a redress.

President.—What is the provision regarding the President's ruling?

Dr. A. G. Menon.—I do not know. In correspondence the President has made certain ruling, and I am bringing those facts before the Council.

Mr. N. Padmanabha Menon.—Sir, may I know from the Hon'ble Member who raised the point of order, under what section of the Standing Order he raised that point of order? It is not enough if a point of order is raised, but he must refer to the particular section.

President.—My attention has been drawn to the scope of the discussion of the general budget. The question is whether this could be discussed at this stage.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—This is the only place where we can place the matter.

Mr. N. Padmanabha Menon.—We are yet to know the particular rule. If we are entitled to move a cut motion, we are also entitled to advance all our arguments during the stage of the general discussion. Have you not said that, when we can move a cut motion on the Legislative Council, we can bring all our arguments in the general discussion stage? We are not questioning the validity of a particular ruling of the President, but we are discussing the policy underlying it, and the position in which the Diwan of Cochin, as the President of the Council, is when he gives that ruling. It is that that we are discussing. I think we are within our province.

President.—Rulings of the President ought not to be questioned.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—There was some correspondence about the amendment of certain rules, and some replies were received with the ruling of the President. I think we will have no chance of bringing any irregularity, or anything of that kind before this Council at all.

President. What is the remedy?

Dr. A. G. Menon.—If you say I am debarred, I have no other go.

President.—I do not want to debar you arbitrarily. Rulings of the President cannot be questioned. Certain questions

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are submitted to me; I glance through those questions, and, if I find that they cannot be allowed by reason of a certain prohibitory rule, I at once order so. I simply give an illustration just to make my position clear. How is that matter to be brought to the notice of the House? Is that your point?

Dr. A. G. Menon.—Yes, Sir.

President.—The question is whether the ruling of the President can be objected to.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—We are pointing out what the policy of the ruling is. We are bringing out in relief the effects of the Diwan being made the President of this House. He colours the rulings in certain ways, and we want to attack that policy, and to bring out the difficulties in which the President is placed. How can we point them out otherwise? We do not question his rulings; we do abide by them. How can we do so without pointing out specified facts? We point out that certain rulings are a bit coloured on account of the fact that the Diwan is made the President. We do not say we cannot submit to his rulings.

President.—So far as the Council Law stands, I have not committed myself to any particular position. I am discussing it. The President's rulings, in whatever matter, they be cannot be questioned.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—We are only discussing the policy underlying the rulings, and the difficulties that we experience under them.

President.— That generally leads you to criticise his rulings. How can you make out your position? Here is the Diwan, the head of the administration, occupying the Presidential Chair of this House. Necessarily, he must be prejudiced. He will be always on the side of the Government. And whatever fairness there may be in the points raised, he is not likely to side with the non-official Members. These are the points you urge, so that the question reduces itself to this, viz., that you want an elected President. You want the question to be made general. I suppose, in the memorial submitted by you, you have referred to that. But we must deal with this question apart from those considerations. They may be right or wrong in their position. You have to point out here for the purpose of supporting that position that the President passed such and such rulings. Look at this. If it had been a non-official President, would he have ruled like that? Instances also have been quoted. That is the thing to which objection is taken.

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Mr. C. Achyuta Menon.—I would suggest another method. We are not entitled to discuss the President's rulings. A cut motion may be brought, or any kind of discussion raised in connection with the Legislative Council budget. Suppose my friend then makes an appeal to you to reconsider some of your decisions. Is he not then entitled to do so?

President.—How can the matter be so? If you do not allow it here, how can he be entitled to do it at some other stage?

Mr. C. Achyuta Menon.—He makes an appeal to you. That is all.

President.—But this is only a general discussion.

Mr. C. Achyuta Menon.—I quite agree.

President.—As for the reviewing of my rulings, so long as the law stands, they cannot be questioned.

Mr. C. Achyuta Menon.—We are entitled to make an appeal to you.

President.—Suppose a question is put, and, on my examination, it is found to infringe such and such rules, then that question is not admitted. At once you come and say "You are wrong, Sir. Please reconsider and allow my question". I consider that again. On reconsideration, if there is no ground for interferring with the matter, I do not do it.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—In my view, it comes to this, that, if your rulings were perhaps wrong, technical objections can be raised to them on all occasions. Even on the occasion of raising a debate on a cut motion, the same difficulty must arise.

President.—A reconsideration must be with reference to a matter which has been decided. Here the question has been put and disallowed. You now say "you were wrong in disallowing the question. The matter must be reconsidered, etc.".

Dr. A. G. Menon.—I bring and place all my grievances before this House. My view is that we must agitate for the appointment of an elected Chairman. That is my object in bringing them here.

President.—The thing is you want to move for an elected President. You cannot move it, because it is laid down in the Regulation that the Diwan shall be the President.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—A resolution for bringing constitutional reforms is perfectly in order. This is only a recommendation to the Government.

President.—I have understood your goal in bringing all these grievances. That is why I say you will not be allowed. The question is whether the Rules will have the same force as the sections. I decided that point. The Rules have equal

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validity, so that the Rule prohibits this discussion. One of the sections says that the Diwan shall be the President, and so long as that section stands there, you will be prohibited from discussing this question.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon.—May I refer you to Rules 12, 26 and 39?

President.—I perfectly understand your position. You want an elected President.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—Sir, my point is that our liberties are cut short by framing certain rules.

President.—The only remedy is to have an elected President. The only thing we have to see is whether the procedure we are adopting is correct or not. It is by virtue of the gracious consideration of His Highness that we have got this reformed Council. You will have to approach His Highness and say "we have conducted the debates in this manner for the last three years, and our President has been using his powers to curtail our rights. This Council exists only in name and not in reality. Our object is—to use Mr. Salem's own words—the "progressive realisation of responsible government." That is our object. But, instead of assisting us in the fulfilment of that object, what little power has been given to us is being taken away." That would be the constitutional procedure.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Would it not be within our province to bring that point to the attention of the Government?

President—You can, if the rules laid down in the Council Law are not infringed. It is my fundamental duty, and I must exercise my powers, support the rules, so that I cannot allow the present question to be raised. I know there is much feeling in this House. But objection comes from the other side.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—I really cannot understand the objection.

President.—In a matter like this we are not the best judges. You have got a certain position. The other side also has a certain position, and I am unfortunately in the position of the Diwan-President. But by law you are bound. I am sorry the decisions I pass are not palatable to you.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—We are helpless against the rulings of the President.

President.—You are bound by those rulings. Unfortunately, your mouth is shut.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon.—Under Rule 48, only the principles involved in the budget are open to discussion. Can anybody contend that this discussion is on the principles of the

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budget? It is not. There are the rules here, and I leave it to the House to judge whether I am right or wrong.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—In the Madras Legislative Council you will see discussions more or less of this nature, i. e., the general principles of the budget.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon.—Because irrelevant matters are discussed in the Madras Legislative Council, it is no reason why we should do it here.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—Suppose thereby we can reduce the expenditure of the Government, suppose I discuss the principles, and say that, by certain changes in the administration, a reduction of expenditure could be effected, then is not this discussion on the principles of the budget? I am sure it comes under the budget heading. We should not simply confine ourselves to figures alone. There is nothing of that sort.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—In the Government of India Legislative Assembly they even discuss very many things on matters affecting constitution, and pass resolutions to be submitted to the Parliament, although there is the same provision there also, that the Government of India Act cannot be discussed in the Assembly, etc. "The provisions of the Regulation" means the provisions that are there. You are not to discuss those provisions, but, if you want some new provisions to be added to them you may recommend the same. What is the meaning in saying that any matters covered in the Regulation shall not be discussed? Instead of that, you say that, under section 11, clause (n), the provisions of this Regulation cannot be discussed. Supposing we want an additional provision or some new thing to be added, or a new constitution altogether, that will not be discussing the provisions of this Regulation. You should put a broad interpretation of the rule. If you shut our mouths completely like that, then, I say it is a narrow interpretation. (See the rule on page 5.) It does not say we shall not discuss. Definite words are used. "Discuss" is used, "enact" is used and "consider" is used. Discussion is different from consideration and enactment.

Mr. C. Achyuta Menon.—A great deal of discussion comes without thought.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Especially from you. (*Laughter.*)

President.—I do not know whether anything more is forthcoming.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—We are bringing to the notice of the President the unfortunate position we are in.

President.—Here, you see, it involves question of the President's ruling. That is the point. Unless you question

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the President's rulings, be the rulings incorrect, how can your position stand?

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Whatever we believe to be incorrect, we do not say.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—But I will have to say that the rulings were wrong. There is no use of saying that I will not, and so it is impossible to continue. I have to bring to the notice of the President that his action in certain matters was not right. A number of rulings can be quoted. That is the point I have to discuss now, and I say that is taking away from us certain powers.

President.—That is all due to my ruling?

Dr. A. G. Menon.—Yes, almost.

President.—That is virtually questioning the rulings of of the President.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—Yes, Sir.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—Suppose, Sir, we are not questioning your rulings. We accept the rulings as correct. But suppose we say that the effect of the rulings was to restrict still further the little power that this Council has, without calling in question your rulings. We accept that the rulings are correct, and yet, if we say that this ruling interferes with the intentions with which this legislature is started, will there be any objection? Suppose, in course of time, this ruling interferes with our legitimate work, would it not be proper to raise such a point, without calling in question your rulings?

President.—But does that arise now?

Dr. A. G. Menon.—My main point is that our power is cut short, and to prove my statement, all your decisions will have to be brought in here. I am to establish my cause by quoting the rulings, and thus to point out their irregularities. So I will have to call in question your rulings.

Sir, I took advice from a number of people. They all advised me to place this before you during the budget session. This is the only chance of expressing our opinion.

President.—You can cause it to be published.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—I can publish it myself. But it is more dignified to publish them here before going to the press.

President.—You need not invite the opinion of the House here.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—I want to tell them how we are here, and how our powers are being taken away gradually by the President.

M. A. B. Salem.—Would it be open to a Member, Sir, to quote instances of a number of rulings of the Chair, and say, by

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such rulings, even the little powers that His Highness has been pleased to grant to this Council are curtailed? Would it be questioning the ruling? I don't know; I want to be clear.

President.—That was the point raised by Dr. A. G. Menon.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—He did not put it in such a clear way.

President.—You put it in a hypothetical way. Whatever may be your impressions of Dr. A. G. Menon's position, he is the best authority to say and not you.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—I put it hypothetically to enable you to come to a decision.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—My speech exclusively deals with how our rights are interfered by the first order of the Chairman, by the second order, etc.

President.—Is that the only speech proposed to be made by the Progressive Party?

Dr. A. G. Menon.—Don't think it to be so. It is my own. I have told them my arguments, and I have shown them how our liberties are curtailed.

President.—You want my written ruling on this point, I suppose?

Dr. A. G. Menon.—It is always advisable Sir, to have a written ruling, and that will be a precedent to guide us in the future. Your written ruling would be more welcome.

President.—Mr. Ouseph, you raised a point of order. What is that?

Mr. C. A. Ouseph.—That President's rulings cannot be questioned. It is self-evident. That is the rule that prevails all over the world, and our Council cannot be an exception to the rule.

The President's Ruling.

When the stage of the general discussion on the budget was reached, and when I enquired as to who was leading the discussion, Dr. A. G. Menon, the Member for Tattamangalam, rose to read the speech prepared by him. When he read portions of the same, and when he was proceeding with the remaining portion, a point of order was raised. The point of order arises in this way. The object of Dr. A. G. Menon's speech was to show that the President, by passing incorrect rulings times without number, has curtailed the rights and privileges of the Members of the Council, and this he would not have done, if he were not the Diwan and Executive Head of the Administration. If, instead of having an official President, like the present Diwan-President, the Council were allowed the privilege of an elected non-

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official President, the rights and liberties of the Members of the Council would be safeguarded. The point of order raised is that the Member for Tattamangalam is precluded from questioning the rulings of the Chair, and he is, therefore, not in order.

I ascertained from Dr. A. G. Menon that, more or less, the whole of his speech deals with the rulings of the President passed at different times, that they would be dealt with in the course of his speech, and that he would show that they were incorrect and opposed to the spirit of the Council Law. In other words, he was questioning the correctness of the President's ruling on different occasions.

I am not at present concerned with the question whether his discussing the question as to the necessity of an elected President is in contravention of the Council Law, and it is not necessary to decide the matter, in view of my opinion that, by the rules of the Council Law, the Member is precluded from questioning the rulings of the President. The provisions of the Council Law are clear on the matter, and the position cannot be disputed. Whatever may be the object the Member has in view, if he has to comment on the rulings of the Chair for the purpose of proving that they are wrong, such a procedure cannot be allowed. It may be that the President's rulings are not acceptable, but within the four corners of this Council Hall no Member can be permitted to question the rulings, and no well-ordered assembly can be conducted without implicit obedience due to the rulings of the Chair. I am, therefore of opinion that Dr. A. G. Menon cannot be permitted to proceed with that portion of the speech which has reference to the questioning of the correctness of the President's rulings.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—May I make a request to you, Sir? The Secretary may be asked to supply a copy of this ruling to me. Otherwise, we will have to wait for months, i. e., till the Proceedings are published. Even the Proceedings of the last meeting are not yet published completely. Hence I request that the Secretary may be directed to supply me with a copy.

President.—Yes. And I suppose the statement of facts I have made is correct?

Dr. A. G. Menon,—Yes, Sir. You are correct.

President.—So, you have nothing to speak other than questioning the correctness of the President's rulings?

Dr. A. G. Menon.— I plead for the liberty of the non-official Members. My speech is entirely about the curtailment of the freedom of the non-official Members, and, in placing that fact before this House, I will have to touch upon the rulings of the President, my letters to the Secretary and the replies thereto.

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Without that, I will not be able to convince you and the Members here.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Will the correspondence between the Member and the Secretary to the Legislative Council amount to the rulings of the Chair?

President.—It has reference to the rulings. For, you see it is only by correspondence that the rulings are brought to the notice of the Members.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—But we do not know the nature of the correspondence between them until we hear it. What is the correspondence the Hon'ble Member has got to say about, we do not know, the President cannot know, and nobody can know.

President.—Are you supporting the ruling?

Mr. A. B. Salem.—I don't know. I don't think the correspondence between the Secretary and the Member would amount to a ruling of the Chair.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—But the replies are by direction of the President. It means he was commanded.

President.—But I am not concerned with this interim discussion. If you have nothing to say other than this, I shall call upon others to speak.

Mr. C. A. Ouseph.—Sir, I wish I could congratulate the Government on the budget for 1103, with the same conviction and ease with which the Diwan-President spoke, in flattering terms, of the Finance Member, who has stood sponsor to it. This Council has all along been treated to prosperity budgets, the present being the third in the line. From the Government standpoint, the years 1101 and 1102 were prosperous ones, and they anticipate even greater prosperity in the coming year. Their test—their only test—of prosperity is a surplus at the end. And a large accumulated surplus, amounting to nearly half a crore of rupees, bespeaks continued prosperity in the State for a considerable number of years.

But the people have other and more rigid tests to apply. Cent per cent collection of land revenue, wind-falls in customs, swelled figures in forests, resulting from whole-sale ruination of useful timber-trees and the assignment of vast areas to powerful combinations, rapid rise of the revenue from tolls and ferries by the increase of their number at breathless speed, a huge income derived from abkari by the deft playing on the weakness of unstable men for unhealthy competition, almost approaching wagering enterprises, these and similar other circumstances do not, in the eye of the citizen, indicate any extra prosperity in the State. The test and the crucial test that should be applied

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is whether the administration and the citizenship of the year have left the lowest citizen in the land any the better mentally, morally and economically, and have generated in him the feeling, be it to the slightest extent, that life is worth living in the year to come. A magnificent array of palaces, costly conveyances of the latest and the swiftest designs adorning the State garrages, a college intended to be run on up-to-date lines, wherefrom, by the very costliness of the course, the children of the poor and the needy have to stay out, spread of secondary and other schools where a high rate of fees and the vagaries of committees and boards have made the cost of education prohibitively excessive, free hospitals where generous payment is rapidly becoming the condition precedent to kind and sympathetic treatment, lavishing of money on roads and buildings whose general use is confined to the pleasure-seeker and the rich, these contribute but little to better the lives of the miserables whose cause I herein advocate. To them a cheap living, opportunities to earn it, be it at the sweat of their brows, unhampered by the grinding capitalist and the squeezing money-lender, facilities to instruct their children in the three R's so as to prepare them for the stormy battle of life, freedom to move about as free men in other parts of the world can do, justice available without emptying their meagre purses either to pay costs or to prefer bribes, medical relief, unaccompanied by exhorbitant demand, and freedom to worship God in their own temples and according to the dictates of their conscience, these are the most prized blessings a civilised administration can bring. But, in Cochin, quite a different state of affairs prevails. Day by day the cost of living goes higher and higher, and the problem of unemployment grows more and more acute. People on the lower rungs are very badly at the mercy of the employer and the hundiman. Our English primary schools are too costly for the poor citizen, and many more vernacular schools have yet to be opened in order to absorb nearly 35 per cent of our children of school-going age who remain out of the schools every year. And, thanks to the many committees and boards responsible for selecting and prescribing text-books, copy books and exercise books, the poor man can ill-afford to meet the several demands of even the lowest type of education. Even in this matter of education by which young minds are to be moulded and shaped, the Government have introduced the process of segregation by opening denominational schools for the Pulayas, Parayas and similarly paced unfortunates, thereby giving unlimited freedom to the forces which have operated to create inequality between man and man, placing one in the forefront of society as a high-

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caste and the other far, far behind, as an out-caste scorned and hounded away by his better-situated brothren. All the king's highways are not open to him, though in the eye of the law he is not the less a citizen than the most loved of the gods. Instead of doing justice by allowing him free ingress into the prohibited roads, the Government would eternalise and give Governmental approbation to the existing inequality by opening roads for particular sections of the large population. The earmarking of a thousand rupees for opening a road for Pulayas and a thousand and one hundred for a road for Valans, both under the Cheranellore Panchayat, so near the capital of this model State, under the very eye of the Diwan, does not redound to the credit of the administration. If, in the matter of the use of public places, the poor citizen cannot get justice, need he dream of it where it has to be fought for with intellect and with money? Courts of law are rapidly becoming fields for costly experiments, which the poor man can never hope to finance. And the difficulty grows greater where prejudice gets free play or the issue stands to be decided by the length of the contending purses or where justice is in jeopardy of being reduced into a matter of purchase. I would here drop a warning to the Government to see that its judiciary always remains unaffected by attractive prospects of easy gain. In the matter of medical relief, a large part of the Government's activities is confined to a corner of the State, outside the reach of the poor and the suffering citizen, for more reasons than one. If the Government's object is that medical relief should be available to the poor as well as to the rich, let them make the area of its operation as wide as possible, so that it may reach even the lowliest man living in the remotest region.

Above all worldly possessions man prizes his religion. For it and in its name wars have been fought, and lives have been sacrificed. Every religion has its revered host of martyrs, whose deeds have remained through ages the envy of the world and the models for its imitation. Through torrents of opposition the worshipper in all creeds has fought his way out to worship God according to the teachings of his faith and in temples founded for that purpose. From the earliest times the Rulers of Cochin have extended the right hand of fellowship to faiths till then foreign to the land. And I dare say that, in times of need, the Jew, the Muslim and the Nazarene have never been found wanting. Latterly, inroads have been made by the Government on the age-long freedom of the citizen in the matter of public worship and it has become much of an uphill work to obtain sanction for erecting a place for it. I would request the Government

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to search its archives to ascertain the number of cases in which sanction applied for has been refused during the last 12 years. If they find quite an appalling number—and I assure them that they would—then there is reason to think that the Government's practice of tolerance is indeed imperfect. Archaic notions and antiquated rules must be given the go-by where they come to clash with the growing needs of men.

The people of Cochin have not had many opportunities to realise that the present administration of the State is possessed of sound political commonsense. Nor have the events of the past few years nor the figures arrayed in the estimate before the House left them any the wiser in this respect. While it is a matter of gratification to this House that the Government readily responded to a political demand from the citizens of the Chittur-Tattamangalam Municipality for a seat in this Council, it is but sparse compensation for the loss inflicted on this body by the abolition of the seat for "Commerce and Industry". As the world moves forward greater, and still greater, importance is assigned by civilized governments to commerce and industry, and separate portfolios are created to nurture and develop them. During the last budget discussion, the Member for Trippunittura demanded the creation of a separate department for commerce. None could forecast then that this demand would soon be followed by the abolition of the only seat commerce had in the Council. The step is indeed a retrograde one and its only justification is that it crowns a series of follies which have preceded it, namely, the virtual locking up of the Potteries, the neglected condition of the Tanneries and the relegation of Industries to a back seat under Education. The various industrial schemes, in investigating which much money had been spent by the State and much time by some of her Diwans, must, by now, have become quite moth-eaten in their shelves. The only way of making the Tramway a paying proposition for long, namely, its re-alignment through the Sholayar Valley and extension to the rich estates of the Anamalais has disappeared, a sister State having snatched the whip hand. Small industrial concerns raised here and there by private effort must be helped on by the State, if a real industrial era has to be set in. But the unsympathetic attitude of the Government in regard to an appeal for help from the owner of certain match works, the sorry spectacle presented near the 'Ratna Vilas'—the Trichur residence of the Consort of His Highness the Maharaja, now occupied by His Highness' son, the Chief Engineer of the State—by an incomplete block of buildings, which its owner had intended for a mill and the

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latest blow on the head of commerce and industry—the abolition of their only seat—do not justify one to hope that these departments of human activities can have a bright future under the present administration.

I have had no reason to modify the views which I have time and again expressed in this House regarding Agriculture and Panchayats, Forests and Tramway and Excise and Abkari. I regard the present expenditure in Agriculture as a waste, and the Central Farm a standing monument of culpable waste, going on unchecked for years. Dragged along with Agriculture, Panchayats have no opportunity to develop and every moment that they are kept on together adds to the strength of the influences which curb the healthy growth of those self-governing institutions. In Forests and Tramway the present method of working is defective and, if the figures of the several years could not convince the present Government of the utter waste in those departments, one day, hereafter, when it is perhaps too late, a future administration will learn to their bitter cost that, after all, the little prophets were right. In Excise and Abkari the Government have steadily been following a policy quite inconsistent with their professions to reduce consumption of liquor. They may feel satisfaction in the thought that the department is a plenteous and unfailing source to fill the Government coffers from. But let it be understood that, to the extent the Government have gained, the homes, generally of the poor and the needy, have been impoverished. Much more has to be done in Co-operation than has now been attempted, before it can effect the economic upliftment aimed at by it. The Government spend but little on it; they should not grudge spending more. It is indeed a small relief that the Government have at last been convinced of the necessity of appointing a Special Engineer for investigating the possibilities of and generally to develop irrigation in the State. Let me hope that, before long, a separate department will be created to look after that all-important function of the Government which, till now, has remained neglected.

A word about the General Administration before I close. There the heart beats, and the greatest care should be taken of it. Ill-functioning of that important department easily affects all others, and the complaint is loud that the General Administration has ceased to function with the vigour and efficiency which characterised it during the days of the foreign Diwans. In the motions on demands it should be the first place; but, for reasons unknown, it comes in as one of the last. Let me hope that the House would be given an earlier opportunity to

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discuss the demand for the General Administration, especially because that department has lately witnessed an appointment which has necessitated a revision of the ordinary views on service and seniority and claims based thereon, and has further made itself responsible for the recent reversion of an officer from Excise to Education—a step regarding which more will be said in the course of the motions on demands for grants.

Sir, this is the last budget with which this Council has to deal. In reviewing the budget estimates much criticism has been levelled against the officers of the Government including the Diwan. The criticisms may have been just or unjust, and the views propounded sound or unsound. But let me assure you, Sir, that every word uttered has been uttered in the best spirit and in the fulness of hope that each one's part will go some way in the attempt to make the citizen's life a life really worth living. The House rose for bench at this stage, it being 2-5 p. m. It met again at 3'4 p. m.

President.—We will now continue the general discussion.

Mr. A. Sankara Puduval.—Sir, it gives me very great pleasure to congratulate the Finance Member on the presentation of this surplus budget and on his clear exposition of its figures, but I beg to differ from him in the statement that this preliminary budget is a satisfactory one. It struck me as a dull unambitious forecast of an administration that is lacking in imagination, enterprise and promptness of action. We have been here for over two years, and except promises and assurances of the vaguest and evasive description, we have not been served with any performances, and I find that, in this, the third, budget that we have had the honour of discussing, we do not find any substantially progressive measures adopted by Government. Of course, here and there, there are a few redeeming features. It occurred to me that the pace of progress was like the revolution of the earth on its own axis, once in 365 days, around the sun. It is so silent—so imperceptible to the looker on, and so slow. An administration which would still dissociate the people from controlling the destinies of the State, an administration in which the Executive is all-powerful, can scarcely be said to be progressive—an administration in which people have come to feel more and more the pinch of poverty, and distress, can hardly be said to be progresssive. The budget expresses a hope of increased income from the sale of intoxicants, and of a reduction of 6 thousand rupees in the revenue by the sale of salt—salt the most vital necessary of life, next perhaps to water. Not only has there not been sufficient facilities offered for increased production and increase of wealth, but we find that the iniquitous

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working of the Excise Department has, to a very great extent, sadly lowered the standard of existence of the people of the State. It seems to me that the only department about which a word of praise is duly merited is the Education Department. It is fortunate that the head of this department is imbued with progressive ideas, is imaginative and is tolerably prompt in action. But, here again, the vascillation, the dilatoriness in arriving at decisive action has been a great impediment to steady advance. The location of the First Grade College has long been in the air. I cannot, in conscience, subscribe to a budget which would spend additional amounts at Ernakulam when the question of the suitable site is still unsettled. The Finance Member seems to be very sorry for the growing expenses in this department. Next to the preservation of peace and security of property, it seems to me that the departments in which State money should be well spent are the Education and Medical Departments. I am not at all sorry for the increase in the expenditure for education. On the other hand, I should be delighted to find more and more sums voted for the work of that useful department. It is not at all a matter for anxiety. It is, on the other hand, discomforting that it should be curtailed. The views of the Finance Committee too have struck me as disparaging. In this connection, I wish to mention one or two facts in regard to the vocational turn that should be given to our education. In a very thoughtful speech delivered by Mr. Visweswarayya, at a meeting presided over by the Diwan of Mysore, he summarised what, according to him, were the measures calling for immediate action. I am reading from the report in *the Hindu*, dated 20th July 1927. The measures recommended by him were (1) Universal elementary education (2) Creating a Special Agency for preparing productive and consumptive statistics and (3) An Agency for development of industry. These are imperatively needed here. Elementary education, thanks to the enterprising spirit of the Head of the Department, is spreading apace, and I hope we can get on satisfactorily without recourse to compulsion. With regard to the maintenance of production and occupation statistics, the need is urgent. The endeavour of Government should be the sufficient production of articles necessary for ordinary consumption and also of such manufactured articles as would be ordinarily necessary for the people of the land. Upon this point, Sir M. Visweswarayya observes:—"The quantities and value of products from agriculture and industries should be estimated once a year as also the character and extent of employment available. A yearly review of these statistics from every city, town, village and district will

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act as aneye-opener. It will automatically suggest comparisons and the measures necessary to increase production. I have seen charts hung up on the walls of village office rooms in Japan giving statistics of production extending over 20 years". Such information would be eminently desirable in a State like Cochin. Now the cry "go back to the villages" sung by the poet Goldsmith has been ringing in British India for the last 6 years and more, and it is a pity that we have begun to realise the importance of improving the villages, only now. It is absolutely necessary, under present conditions, to so shape our education that a boy leaving school—as Mr. Visweswarayya observes—between the years 12 and 18 should be able to stand on his own legs, and earn an honest living instead of knocking at the doors of Government Offices for clerkships and other appointments. That ought to be our idea. But that means increased expenditure, and for that purpose the Government should be prepared to spend more. In regard to the education of girls, I find, from the report of administration of the department issued for the year 1101, that in some girls' schools gardening, spinning and weaving have been tried with success. The idea of opening a class for painting, designing, and fine arts generally ought not to be overlooked. The idea of giving more vocational and useful training to our girls has to be amplified so far as Ernakulam is concerned. In this matter, the Director of Public Instruction appears to have devoted more attention upon Trichur than upon Ernakulam.

Speaking of General Administration, the spirit of enterprise, and encouraging help is quite wanting. We have no State Bank or State-aided Bank. Land revenue has reached its limit, and there are no proposals put forward by Government as to how production could be increased. So far as *kole* cultivation is concerned, I have been hammering upon the Government that increased facilities in irrigation and improved cultivation have to be provided for; but the present budget is silent about the subject. Irrigation, the Finance Member observes, is the cry of the hour, and what is the allotment for irrigation? It is a petty amount serving no useful purpose to the *kole* cultivators. Permit me to remark that Government may at least be pleased to remit land revenue upon non-cultivated *kole* lands. I have been assured by several leading *kole* cultivators, that such remissions would induce them to leave a portion of their lands uncultivated, and be kept as reservoirs of water. In regard to the Excise Department, I have always been endeavouring to impress upon the House that we do not want such a highly salaried officer as the Head

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of this Department. It has begun to work almost automatically. The policy pursued ruins the poorer classes, eats into the vitals of our population by the unceasing consumption of all sorts of intoxicants. I do not know if the energy of a highly paid officer should be directed in this iniquitous fashion. Of late, the administration of the department has been of a most disconcerting character. A certain officer in the department was suspended for six months; his degradation was cancelled soon afterwards, and he was promoted forthwith. Another subordinate officer picked up a quarrel with his loss; a departmental enquiry was conducted *pari passu* with a criminal prosecution in a court of law. All sorts of unpleasant departmental proceedings ensued, which do not redound—to put it more mildly—to the credit of any administration.

I am pleased to see a comparatively better working of the Agricultural and Forest Departments. I am afraid, I have only 5 minutes more which I have to devote to the Municipalities and the Co-operative Department. The explanatory note of the Finance Member says that the time for governmental help to the Municipalities is over, and henceforward there shall be no contributions to them. That, I venture to point out, is an erroneous ceurse of policy to adopt. We have not come to a state when the Municipalities could be considered self-supporting. The miserable condition of roads within municipal limits would bear out my statement. In the time of Diwan Mr. Rajagopalachari outright repairs were done. Since then more patchwork repairs alone have been carried, except in a few roads too insignificant to mention. Our Municipalities have no funds to do outright work. Even in the town of Ernakulam the roads are so miry and so full of ruts that it seems passing strange why financial help was not given by Government. The same is the condition of roads in Mattancheri and Trichur. In regard to the Trichur Municipality, I submit, Government has been very stinting in offering help. I have repeated this very often. The scheme for drainage has not been accepted by Government. The Municipality has not got a habitation of its own, and the present condition of the city of Trichur is very insanitary. All these defects could not be remedied with the paltry sum available at the disposal of the Municipality. At any rate, if Government be not prepared to give any substantial help to our Municipalities in future, they may at least be pleased to write off the debts due by the Municipalities, and then let them take care of themselves. With regard to the Co-operative Department, that again is a department in which Government has not been bestirring itself properly. Agricultural co-operation is

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the need of the hour, the chief remedy to get over existing distress. In that department Government help has been very miserable. The appointment of an extra Inspector, for a term of 6 months, does not materially mend matters. I would suggest that more propaganda work be carried on, which means the creation of more Inspectors—more competent persons who possess the necessary qualifications. Now, it is no good saying that the department has been thriving without much help from Government. The money now available for propaganda work is very little, and it is only in the improvement of the existing co-operative societies, and in finding better methods of bringing into operation co-operative principles in all departments of human activities, particularly in agriculture and cottage industries, that we can hope for any amelioration in the condition of the poor and depressed classes. Upon that department also, Government would stint in expenditure. That, I submit, is a very discouraging feature in the budget. With regard to the Panchayats, it seems to me that the time has come when the Panchayats have to be placed under an independent officer. The proper working of the Panchayats would be very much to the advantage of the people, and it would not be sufficient to have them combined with and under the control of the Agricultural Department. As we have in the sister Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, they should be placed under a special officer directly subordinate to the Diwan. There is considerable scope for the enlargement of the activities of the Panchayats, if they be properly organised and properly worked.

The Police Department is now under an officer of proved ability and attainments. But, in spite of his strenuous attempts at improvement, we do not find the rank and file of the force up to the mark. Policemen are not properly paid. We find on the roads famished star-grazing constables of poetic temparament, ill-disciplined and unable even to stand erect. We want efficient men. I would ask Government even to reduce the total number of the rank and file by 20 per cent and get them properly disciplined and remunerated. Let us have a police force competent to discharge police duties, rather than a number of ill-clad, ill-looking, emaciated creatures. In the Department of Forests and Tramway I am glad to find better prospects held out, but I am not at all sanguine in this behalf. The Registration Department, whose expenditure is 25 per cent less than in British Malabar deserves a sympathetic re-organisation. I think the governing idea in the preparation of the budget is that expenditure should be kept under strict control, and be less

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than the receipts. The governance of a State is not like the management of a business concern. During the regime of the Ex-Maharaja, large amounts were borrowed on debentures and spent for the betterment and prosperity of the people. Those investments have repaid better than was anticipated. Our ambition ought not to be to see that we always come forward with a surplus budget. I am not enamoured of surplus budgets. I am more concerned with the schemes of work, attempted and carried on to promote the prosperity of the land and to ameliorate the lot of those living in it. Money should be liberally spent in the best interests of the people, in exploring new fields of production in finding out useful employment to our people, in expanding and improving our cottage industries, and, generally speaking, in bettering the means and the standard of living. All these features are conspicuously absent in the Preliminary Budget, so far as I have been able to see. My time is up. I would add a word in regard to constitutional reform. A well-known member of Parliament who visited British Indian Councils recently called them toy parliaments. I do not know what he would say of this House, if he had been present here to see the Diwan-President exercising his rights in curtailing the privileges of its non-official Members. Motions carried by this House are very conveniently disregarded by the Government. Until we are invested with larger powers, the Council may not be able to make itself sufficiently useful.

Mr. K. S. Rama Ayyar.—My care has always been to see whether the Government have made adequate provision for the improvement of agriculture, other industries and trade, and whether sufficient attention has been paid to put people in the way for work and wages, and whether the programme of the Government is enough to keep the people fit and going. It is so even now. After having carefully studied the estimates presented to the House, I am constrained to say that I am not satisfied with the provision made in the budget.

I consider it as one of the prime responsibilities of the Government to see that whatever is produced in the State and belongs to the State is carefully conserved and made available for purposes which help to improve the condition of the people.

The Finance Member says that 5 lakhs of rupees lies invested in the 7 per cent Mysore Loan of 1931. I can understand him when he says that Rs. 52,000 lies in war-bonds. But the investment of 5 lakhs of rupees from the surpluses out of collections made from the people of the State in the Mysore loan is a thing, the propriety of which, I admit, Sir, I really cannot

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understand. There are some people who seem to be enamoured of the surplus budgets of the State. How many years is it now since we have been accumulating surpluses? And even when they have risen to the enviable figure of 55 lakhs, the Finance Member says that he is making provision for a "rainy day". May I ask him when he expects such heavy rains? He does not stop there. He goes a step further, and announces that the question of levying an income-tax from non-agricultural incomes is under the consideration of the Government. And, you, Sir, you compliment the Finance Member's announcement by saying that you expect that there will be no opposition to this fresh taxation, as it will affect only the richer people. Levy of income-tax may be alright. It is levied throughout British India and in some of the Native States. And you may be right in thinking that there will be no opposition from the masses. But, Sir, I wonder how people in power can forget the principles of taxation and make such thoughtless announcements. I tell you plainly that there is absolutely no need for any fresh taxes in our State under the conditions now existing. There is no propriety in thinking of fresh taxes, when you have enough for yourself and to spare. But in our accumulation of surpluses, and in our sparing of balances, the Government have not cared to know whether we had enough for our purposes before they thought of sparing. That is a mistake the Government have been committing, and the result is such a large surplus. And when they found the surplus accumulated, they forgot where it came from and the purpose for which the moneys were collected from the people. If they had the kindness to think of the people who contributed to these large savings, if they had the sense of justice to think of the purpose for which the people paid them, if the Government had any thought of their obligations to the people, I am sure that such a large amount as 5 lakhs of rupees, rightly or wrongly saved out of the collections made from the people of the State, would not have found its way outside the boundaries of Cochin to such a distant country as Mysore.

This is only one item of investment outside the State. In this particular investment there is at least the consolation that the money is in a productive concern, as it pays 7 per cent interest. But besides this, there are three other investments outside the State where not only do the investments lie as dead capital but more money is invested year after year by way of recurring charges. I mean the three houses outside the State—the Tullocks Gardens in Madras and the Springfield and the Elkhill Gardens in Coonoor. These gardens together with the houses in them were, I believe, purchased out of the State

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surpluses at one time or other, and the amounts spent must have been large. I do not know exactly what they were. But I know that, if they are sold now, they will fetch several lakhs. And a recurring expenditure of nearly Rs. 5,000 is incurred every year on the gardens alone. How much is spent every year to maintain the buildings, there is no clue in the budget to find out. Where is the justification for the investment? Where is the justification for this recurring expenditure? Everybody knows that the Madras House serves no useful purpose now. Could they not sell it and bring away the money into the State? The Coonoor Houses are meant as summer resorts for His Highness the Maharaja. Let it not be misunderstood that I am disloyal when I say that I doubt much whether even the King of England enjoys such a privilege. I can understand that our Maharaja might want to go and live in a healthy place when he feels it unpleasant here. Putting such a contingency at a maximum, His Highness may require a house only for a few months, say two or three. Upon the hills any number of houses are available for hire, and it will not be difficult at all to choose a convenient house when one is required. That would be a more businesslike arrangement, and much more profitable and certainly more reasonable; and I am sure that His Highness would not be put to any inconvenience under this sort of arrangement.

Now, Sir, calculate the amounts that are lying outside the State, and picture to yourself how much more profitably and more usefully these amounts can be invested or utilised within the State. I ask when are the Government going to think of such things? This will be conserving the resources of the State for the benefit of the people.

Then, Sir, there is the annual drainage of so much money outside in a diversity of ways which the Government must think of stopping. The first item of drainage is under the head "rice"—the most important article of food, so far as our State is concerned. Have the Government any figures to give for (1) the quantity of rice produced in the State, (2) the quantity of rice exported, if any; and (3) the quantity imported? I do not think they have. Without these figures, how can the Government handle the subject? Is the rice produced in the State enough to feed the population? They will readily say "no", as they must have seen bags and bags of rice coming in. But, supposing they are asked how much comes in, I do not think they can give any accurate figures, as they do not keep such statistics. (This they admitted once before when answering one of my questions.) If statistics of exports and imports and of the pro-

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ducts of the country are not kept, they must excuse me, if I ask them, "what kind of Government are you having here?" Is there any other State in the world which does not keep such statistics? On the other hand, I am sure such figures are the first and the foremost concern of all civilised States. Rice is not the only article that has to be considered in this manner. There are ever so many other articles that are imported into the State from outside. Every article that is imported means passage of a large amount of money outside. I have made a rough calculation, and I find that 10 crores of rupees goes out of the State every year on account of imports. I shall refer to one or two items, so that you may have an idea as to how I arrived at the figure.

Taking the case of tobacco, the Government collects Rs. 2,50,000 by way of rent on tobacco shops. This, of course, is paid out of the profits that the shop-keepers make. I shall put the share of the shop-keepers at half this amount. So, the total profit that the shop-keepers must make is Rs. 3,75,000. Calculating the rate of profit at 6 pies on a rupee worth of tobacco or at 3 per cent on the capital, for a profit of Rs. 3,75,000, the capital invested must be 32 times Rs. 3,75,000 or 120 lakhs. This is the amount that goes out of the State every year for the purchase of tobacco from outside. It cannot be less than this, for you will see that I have put the shop-keeper's share of the profit at a minimum.

Taking the case of match-boxes, the population of the State is 10,00,000. Putting the average number of occupants for a house at 5, the number of houses in the State is 2,00,000. I shall grant that half the number of these houses manage without match-boxes. Then 1,00,000 houses remain, which will have to purchase at the rate of 12 boxes for a year. The number of boxes required will, therefore, be 12,00,000. Calculating the cost price of one match-box at 3 pies, the total comes to nearly Rs. 20,000. The "*beedy*" habit consumes a good number of match-boxes. I will put it at one-fourth of this. That will cost another Rs. 5,000. The grant total is, therefore, Rs. 25,000 or one-fourth lakh. And so on and so on it runs until it will come up to about 10 crores. There are some articles that we cannot do without and cannot be produced here. One such item is kerosine oil. Such imports cannot be avoided. But articles that we can make here must be made here, and there is no meaning in our depending on other countries for such things and letting all the moneys flow out of the State.

Once before, when I asked whether cultivation of tobacco was ever tried in the State, the Government told me that one

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Mr. Doraswami Pillai, an agent of the Uttukuli Zemindar, tried it once somewhere in the Chittur Taluk, and it proved a failure. That was story telling. But then I drew the attention of the Government to the expediency of encouraging the cultivation of this plant in the State. I tell you, Sir, again, that the matter is not anything to be laughed out. It is a vital problem coming under Economics, and one which causes a drain of 100 lakhs of rupees to outside the State.

I have not forgotten the question of rice. Coming to rice again, the most important article of food in the State,—the Finance Member says "the cry everywhere is Irrigation, more irrigation and yet more irrigation". I may ask him how long has he been hearing this cry. And then, why should the Government let the people cry at all? Why does he say that the Government are no whit behind any Member of this House in their desire for extending the facilities for irrigation? If the Government have kept the people crying, and that for a long time for a proper supply of water for their rice-fields, and that, in spite of the fact that everybody in the State knows that hundreds of thousands of bags of rice for the consumption of the people in the State come from outside, and notwithstanding the surplus of lakhs upon lakhs that the Government have been accumulating, then I say, without the least fear of opposition, that the Government *are* behind. But comparisons are always odious. And this could have been avoided. And even now what is the provision made? They are going to take stock of the present situation, and to make a careful survey of the whole problem, and lay out a programme of irrigation works which may be taken up year after year *as funds permit.* Note the words "as funds permit". And for this purpose they propose to appoint a Special Engineer with the necessary staff. The Finance Member lastly draws attention to a provision of Rs. 16,000 made for investigating irrigation projects. I don't know whether it is absolutely necessary to bring in a new Engineer for this purpose, while there are some Engineers here already, and they have been doing all this sort of work hitherto, and if my information is correct, beautiful schemes of irrigation works were sent up by them to the Government, and they have been with the Government for a long time.

Sir, I am not satisfied with the arrangements made in the matter of increasing the products of the State, agricultural, and industrial. Several things have to be done, and can be done, if only the people in power are in earnest about it. The people of the State—a large percentage of them—are extremely poor. Several lead miserable lives. A large amount is collected by

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the Government from them by way of direct and indirect taxes. Then a large part of what money they earn goes out of the State to purchase the necessaries of life. All this money or at least a large part of it, ought to be kept in circulation here. Measures have to be devised to increase the earning power of the people, and it is, I believe, the duty of the Government to take the initiative in the matter. The Government must put the people in the way for work and wages.

I shall now draw your attention to some items of expenditure which stand in need of a thorough examination.

I find, Sir, that a total of 5 lakhs of rupees is set apart for the Palace every year. This has been the practice for the last so many years. The balances out of this grant have been accumulating, and I understand that the accumulated surplus is now between 15 and 20 lakhs. If I am wrong, I may be pardoned. Lent out at 6 per cent, this surplus is likely to fetch an interest of nearly a lakh of rupees every year. This has been considered more or less as a Trust fund and treated separately, and you will observe that the accounts do not appear in the Administration Report. It has to be noted that, ever since the arrangement was made to keep this fund separate, it has been managed by an officer called the Special Palace Officer and a staff of clerks. The cost of the establishment was Rs. 3,728 in 1100, Rs. 4,037, in 1101, Rs. 5,559 in 1102, and it is going to be Rs. 6,420 in 1103. All that cost may be necessary or not necessary. That is not my point. My question is whether there is any necessity for the Treasury to meet this charge; more so, seeing that the fund has accumulated, and there is ample scope to run it as a self-supporting concern.

Then, again, there is a recurring expenditure of Rs. 40,000 under the head "Religious", and the larger part of this amount is spent as *Pandaravaka Vazhivadus*. I think there is no propriety in spending so much money from the public funds every year to propitiate the Gods, as the amount is contributed by all classes and creeds of the subjects of the State. Whatever expenditure is found necessary under this head should, I think, be met from the allowances allotted for the Palace.

There is yet another item of about Rs. 50,000 under the head "Charities", the major portion of which goes to the maintenance of free-feeding institutions called Oottupurahs. This institution does more harm than good, and I donot know whether they do any good at all. Whatever be their efficacy, there is no justification to continue the expenditureout of the public funds. These two items, "Charities" and "Religion" are delicate items, and I do not want to dilate upon them.

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Another item is the expenditure of about Rs. 60,479 on the Nayar Brigade. Although this small army of 4 companies of soldiers is called a Brigade, they are, in fact, kept more as an ornament than for any other purpose. The sepoys are not properly trained, and they are not supplied with the right sort of rifles to be of any use as a real military force. Whatever be the condition in which this force is maintained, there is a very great grievance that all classes of His Highness' subjects are not allowed to be enlisted in the army of the State. Service in the army of the State has always been considered an honour by the people everywhere and at all times , and it is, therefore, a matter for congratulation, if the people of our State, poor and depressed as they are, aspire to get themselves enlisted as the soldiers of the State. Why do the Government shut the door against them, and say that it is reserved for a particular class? Is it not time for the Government to give up such unnecessary and unmeaning partiality and open their doors for all? If a Muslim can be the Commandant of the Brigade, why not allow a Christian or an Ezhuva or a Muslim to be a soldier in the same force? The continuance of the practice prohibiting some classes is bad policy, and has already created a lot of discontent, and the discontent is only likely to increase. Look at the position, Sir. If the people had the control of the purse, this army, you may depend upon it, would have been nowhere unless admission were thrown open to all.

In conclusion; I must say, I shall not be satisfied, if only large amounts are allowed to the development departments just now; for that will not be all. Several arrangements have to be made along with the provision of funds or even before that. Unless and until all these are considered and definite programmes formulated, there is no good of allotting more funds. What I want is that every pie of the accumulated surpluses and every pie collected by the State are earned by the people should be made available to the people by keeping it invested and circulating *within* the State. Schemes for producing as many of the articles that the people want for their consumption, and as much of them as can possibly be made here should be prepared and set on foot. That will gradually diminish the drain of money to outside the State little by little. Schemes are also necessary to make articles for export. It is only such schemes—clear and well defined schemes— that can lead the people to work and wages, and can help to keep them fit and going. And the means, the soundest means, the surest means, to help the people up, especially because our country is decidedly poor—miserably poor, (I can prove it to the hilt) the means is co-operation

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and nothing but co-operation. There is no scheme calculated for the uplift of the people that cannot be brought under co-operation. I shall have more of it when the Demand for the Co-operative movement is moved. Until and unless I find definite and clear programmes in the Explanatory Statements of the Finance Member, and amounts allotted to work out these schemes, I can have no kind word for the budget. And I shall end all my quarrel with the Government, when I see that the Government fully realise that all the money collected is people's money collected for the people's benefit, and they decide not to spend it or invest it without a thought for the people and always to use every pie of the people's money for insuring the prosperity and happiness of the people; then shall I end my quarrel with the Government.

President.—Does your position lead to the stopping of the development of the Cochin Port?

Mr. K. S. Rama Ayyar.—Certainly not, Sir.

President.—You take objection to the large imports of 10 crores year after year?

Mr. K. S. Rama Ayyar.—Yes. But imports should be developed. That will help export also. And imports, Sir, is unavoidable. We must have imports also.

President.—Is it your point that, in consequence of the development, there will be more export?

Mr. K. S. Rama Ayyar.—When we are prepared to make some articles here, there will be no necessity for such large imports. We cannot do away with import altogether. Import is a necessary item. The development of the port is at any rate necessary. It can only help the people, and it will not stand in their way.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—This is probably the last occasion, the last budget occasion, that we are meeting. For, the election is coming, and no one knows better than my friend the Member for the Jews how slippery and how difficult the profession of politics is, and the public opinion that keeps you up in a certain day may pull you down the next day, and, as such, it is only natural that I would like to make a few observations, one or two observations on the budget, and then confine myself more closely to the working of this Council for the last two years, and to discuss and to present certain facts before the House, just to see whether this Council has contributed to the general prosperity and progress of the State, or whether it has retarded that progress. I shall be very particular to see that I don't violate any of the Standing Orders, and, if I do so, I shall request the President to call me to order, so that I may not be open to the charge of violating or

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having violated the Rules. The observations I wish to make on the budget are the same as I made last year. One is the method pursued by the Comptroller, the Finance Minister, of presenting the budget, wherein he underestimates the assets and increases the expenditure, and at the end of the year he presents a surplus budget. The next item will be to raise the expenditure to the level of the income, and you will see, if you take the figures of a series of years, while the income has increased in the State, expenditure has also correspondingly increased. But at the same time, this increase of expenditure is not due to any great contribution to some of those most useful and essential departments of the State. Now, Sir, to my mind, there is no more beneficial work than the work that the Government should undertake to increase and to give succour and help to the large portion of our population who happen to be agriculturists. We have been asking in this Council, often and often, to increase the allotment for irrigation, and also for the development of the Panchayats. Rural sanitation is a subject of one of the three. But in a country like ours, situated as we are, where there is no village in the true sense, as you observe in Tamil countries rural sanitation is a necessary expenditure. This method of raising the expenditure to the level of the income and not contributing a corresponding share to the essential needs of the people is unjust and indefensible. The second criticism that I wish to offer is the method of calculating the budget. I pointed out last year that this way of producing our budget is open to grave objection, because it gives you a total income from the State which the State does not receive at all. If you refer to the budget of this year and last year, you will find on the one side 11 1/2 lakhs from Railway and expenditure amounting to 8 lakhs. Why not put 3 1/2 lakhs as income from the Railway, because we do not get a single pie directly or indirectly from the Railway. since the appointments are all in the hands of the Railway Company? Further, we have no voice in the management of the Railway, and, therefore, the expenditure incurred by the Railway is not under the control of our Government. Such being the case, it must be construed as an investment of 3 1/2 lakhs in the Railway Company. If you put the budget like that, you must take 3 1/2 lakhs as income. I may tell for the information of the House that, in all States where Railways are under State management, this method of procedure is adopted, and, if it is so, I fail to see why we should not also adopt the same. These are the only two observations.

President.—You brought this to the attention of the

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House last year ?

Dr. A. R. Menon.—Government have only separated it now.

President.—The Government of India have separated the budget.

Mr. C. Achyuta Menon.—Our case is even worse. We know nothing about the income. Our men know nothing about it. We get only the net-income.

President.—Weekly receipts they send.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—That is all. We have no control over the Department. So it is, more or less, an investment.

Mr. C. Achyuta Menon.—In Travancore and Mysore they show only the net income.

President.—Is it for the purpose of showing a larger receipt?

Dr. A. R. Menon.—That is a false statement. When you take the proportion of expenditure, especialy in the case of the Education Department, upon the total 80 lakhs, the Director will take the percentage.

Now, Sir, yesterday, during your speech, you invited us to place any constructive proposals before the Council. I shall offer one constructive proposal for the thoughtful consideration of the Government, and it is this. Yesterday, you made an observation, and a correct observation in my view, that the honorary post—that those who manage the Panchayat being honorary men, and being independent of the Government, the Government cannot exercise the same control over them. I may go a step further, and say, because I can say, being a non-official, that these people do not discharge their duties not only as properly as they ought to do, but not even half as much properly as they should, and it may be due to one or two things. It may be due to want of public spirit, or it may be due to the undu interference on the part of the Government, and also to the limited scope given to them. Now, Sir, men who come in for these posts wish to make some profit out of them. Others come in for them because there is attraction, and such men will only take part in public life, provided they are convinced that their services are useful, and there is scope for such men to take part in such activities. You restrict the activities. The result is that you get only the other class of public men, men who come to make something out of it. There is nothing so pernicious as people who enter public life, and want to make something out of it. Thus it is quite conceivable that a large number of people—who, I don't say as I don't want to specify, but I can conceive it quite so well-

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go there simply for the sake of the position, prestige, and something more than that. Now, what the Government should do is to try and attract men of capacity, men who have a higher sense of duty to take part in this business, and the only way the Government can do this is by extending to them wider privileges giving them wider powers to manage the public affairs entrusted to them. I can quite conceive the objection that may be raised that these people, being inexperienced, should not be given such powers, but my submission is, it is better to give them powers and allow them to make mistakes rather than to give them no powers and expect them to discharge their duties properly. Now, what I propose is this. There are minor departments in the State which cannot be properly supervised such as the Rural dispensaries, Primary schools and similar institutions which are situated in various parts of the village. If you amalgamate all your Panchayats, if you allow Panchayats to send a representative from each Panchayat to a Central Board called Taluk Board, and, if the Taluk Board were allowed to elect a President of the Taluk Board, and if you invest him with the same powers as the Chairman of Municipal Councils enjoys to-day, I have every hope that your attempt will be successful, and that the Government will be relieved of large responsibilities of looking after these minor institutions, and these minor institutions will be much better supervised than is possible under the existing conditions. The function of the Government officials will be direction and advice, and all the punishments of officers entrusted with these may also be reserved with the Heads of Departments. That is a line worth trying, and I have no doubt, that, if you introduce the system, it will be a great benefit both to the public and will also be a relief to the Government. That is the constructive proposal that I wish to make before you.

Now, Sir, I wish to speak about the position of this Council. As you are aware, here is a Council where the Executive is absolutely independent of the legislature. This experiment has never been tried in any part of the world with success, and it has been a failure everywhere. So it is bound to be a failure in this country also. But exigencies and circumstances compel us to adopt a mothod which has been a failure all the world over. Now what happens, if the Executive is not under the control of the legislature, if they become irresponsible to the criticism of the Council, and an irresponsible Executive produces an irresponsible opposition. An irremoveable Executive produces an irresponsible opposition, and an irresponsible opposition indulges in talks, because they are certain that they will never be called to order by the Government. The result has

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been that the opposition can indulge in all kinds of vague criticisms, and that they will not be called to confess the mistake. Further, though the Executive is independent of us in certain matters, in the matter of certain grants, the law gives us the power to bring in cut motions to reduce grants. When such a grant is reduced, the only alternative that is left to the Government is to appeal to the Ruler and ask His Highness to exercise His Power of veto or certification.

President.—Please see Rule 51.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—When I say Government, it means Diwan always. I place all the criticisms on the broad shoulders of the Diwan, and I expect him to bear the burden. Now the Government is requested to issue a certification. What happens is this.—A rankling feeling in the opposite side and the gulf that is widening day after day will go on widening. Have you got any corresponding benefit from this Council ? I conscientiously and honestly affirm that this Council has not contributed any benefit to the State, and, as such, I honestly declare that it is a waste of public money to have a Council, to have a debating society having the name of a Legislative Council. There are only two ways, and let me give one or two instances showing how this Council has become a debating society. Sir, some resolutions have been passed here by a majority against the wishes of the Government. I can unnderstand the Government refusing to accept those resolutions, though they are morally bound to accept them, but they are not legally. Yet morally they have not considered this resolution in the light that it has been presented by equally responsible people who represent the public here. I have no quarrel with the Government. There are certain resolutions which have been passed unanimously in this Council. Government accepted the resolutions, and those resolutions have not been given effect to. This morning I heard the answer that the Government was contemplating; is thinking. How is it that the Government does not finish thinking even after 18 months. The difficulty of solving the question of locating the Central Ayurvedic Hospital is beyond my comprehension. At the same time Rs. 50,000 have been alloted for a private hospital. Does the House realise what it means ? I have given a cut motion, and I shall explain what that fifty thousand is, and how the Government is so ready to advance money when asked for by certain departments. Therefore, Sir, we come to one of the two alternatives. Either this Council must be modified in such a manner that the Members may be made to feel a little responsible, and as I have been pointing out to this Council, responsibility only comes with a little power. If the Government find themselves that it is not good for the country that such powers should be extended to them, the only alter

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native is that this Council must be abolished. Nobody can say that we agitated for a Legislative Council or that we kicked up a row for a Legislative Council. It was given to us. We were asked to come to get ourselves selected and came into this Council. I have never known of a single meeting requesting that a Legislative Council might be introduced. If you give, of your own accord, a thing like this, are you not bound to give something useful instead of a Council like this? That is the question that we have to consider.

I shall close this by making one more observation. This morning I heard that this administration has been spoiled lately because foreign Diwans have not been imported. I do not subscribe to that view. I know great foreign Diwans have come here; small men have also come here. I know of great Diwans produced by this State, and small ones also. I know the case of a humble man who, from the position of a poor clerk, rose to the high position of the Diwan of the State. I refer to the famous ancestor of the Member for Urakam. He and his very famous sons, the ancestors of the Secretary to the Council, ruled this land for three or four decades — the golden era of this State. Their memory is not represented by statues but by beneficent works such as roads, irrigation, etc., which constitute an everlasting memory, and which will keep their names green in the minds of the people. Then a series of foreign Diwans have come here, and it is left to the present Highness to appoint the sons of the soil. (*Hear, hear.*) Your predecessor was a son of the soil. It would be covertly attacking him, if I wanted to tell anything against him, and it would be out of place to praise him. Then following him, you came to his place and, Sir, let it be your contribution to place this Council on a proper footing, and, if you think, on the other hand, that it is not good, advise His Highness that this Council should be abolished.

President.—You were one of those who wanted the Council, Mr. Salem?

Mr. A. B. Salem.—I never wanted this Council at all at any time.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—Therefore, Sir, this is the only observation I wish to make. Either end this Council or mend this Council, and no one can do this work better than one born of the soil, and who is as much interested in the State as any of us, and who is one of us and part of us.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. പി. കറുപ്പൻ.—സർ, ഇക്കൊല്ലത്തെ അടങ്കൽ പല തുകൊണ്ടും പ്രശംസനീയമായിരിക്കുന്നു. ചിലവു കഴിച്ചു് മിച്ചംകാണിക്കുന്ന അടങ്കലിന്റെ പ്രസിദ്ധീകരണം ഗവൺമെണ്ടിനും ജനങ്ങൾക്കും ഒരുപോലെ ആശ്വാസജനകമാണെന്നു് പറയേണ്ടതില്ല. പ്രജാക്ഷേ

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മൈകതല്പരനും ഭാഗ്യധിധിയുമായ നമ്മുടെ മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സി ലെ ഭരണകാലത്തു് ഇതുപോലെ ആശംസനീയങ്ങളായ ബഡ്ജറുകൾ പുറപ്പെട്ടന്നതിൽ അത്ഭുതമില്ല.

എന്നാൽ വ്യവസായവിഷയത്തിൽ കുറേക്കൂടി ചിലവുചെയ്താൽ അതു് ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനും സംസ്ഥാനത്തിലേക്കും അതധികം ശ്രേയസ്സ്കരമായിരിക്കുമെന്നുള്ള ഒരു സംഗതിയെ എടുത്തുകാണിക്കുക മാത്രമാകുന്നു എന്റെ ഈ പ്രസംഗത്തിന്റെ ഉദ്ദേശ്യം. പലേ വ്യവസായങ്ങളെപ്പറ്റിയും പല മാന്യസാമാജികന്മാരും ഇവിടെ പ്രസംഗിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു്. അതുകൊണ്ടു് ഞാൻ എനിക്കു ചുമതലപ്പെട്ട ഒരു പ്രത്യേക വ്യവസായത്തെ, അതായതു് മത്സ്യവ്യവസായത്തെക്കുറിച്ചാണു് പ്രസ്താവിക്കാമെന്നു വെയ്ക്കുന്നതു്. മത്സ്യവ്യവസായംകൊണ്ടു് ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനും തൊഴിലാക്കും രാജ്യത്തിനും ഉണ്ടാകാവുന്ന ഗുണങ്ങളെക്കുറിച്ചു് ഞാൻ എന്റെ കഴിവുപോലെ കഴിഞ്ഞ ബഡ്ജറു യോഗങ്ങളിലും മറും പ്രതിവാദിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടായിരുന്നു. അതിനു ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിന്റേയും ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട റെവന്യു മെംബറിന്റേയും വാശ്വാനങ്ങളും ലഭിക്കുകയുണ്ടായി. കഴിഞ്ഞ ബഡ്ജറു സെഷനിലെ ചില പ്രതിപാദനങ്ങളെ ഞാൻ വിനയപൂർവ്വം ഇവിടെ അനുസ്മരിപ്പിക്കുന്നു.

"പ്രസിഡണ്ടു്.—ഇപ്പോൾ ചിലതൊക്കെ ചെയ്തിട്ടുണ്ടു്. അവക്കു് എന്തെല്ലാം ഗുണങ്ങളൊക്കെ ചെയ്യാൻ സാധിക്കുമോ അതെല്ലാം ചെയ്യാൻ ഒരുക്കമാണു്. ഇതിനെപ്പറ്റി ശരിയായി അന്വേഷിക്കാം."

"**Rao Sahib Mr. T. V. Kasturi Ranga Ayyar.**—The question of territorial jurisdiction raised is still under dispute between the British Government and the Cochin Darbar. Nothing can, therefore, be done at present to remove the complaint.

President.—Can you bring those places under our control.

Rao Sahib Mr. T. V. Kasturi Ranga Ayyar.—The Economic Development Committee may take it into consideration as it is an economic question.

Mr. C. A. Ouseph.—The Diwan Peishkar said that this matter will be considered by the Economic Development Committee. He is not a member there.

Rao Sahib Mr. T. V. Kasturi Ranga Ayyar.—But I can bring the matter to the notice of the Committee.

President.—He need not necessarily be a member of it.

The motion was withdrawn".

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. പി. കുട്ടൻ.—അതിനുംപുറമെ, 1102 മീനം സെഷനിൽ ഞാൻ ഒരു പ്രമേയം കൊണ്ടുവന്ന അവസരത്തിൽ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട റെവന്യുമെംബർ ഭംഗിയായും കണിശമായും പറഞ്ഞ മറുപടിയും ഇവിടെ ഉച്ചരിക്കേണ്ടതായി വരുന്നു. "അടുത്ത ബഡ്ജറു് തയ്യാറാക്കുന്ന സന്ദർഭത്തിൻ ഈ വക സംഗതിയെക്കൂടി പ്രത്യേകമായി ഗൌനിച്ചു് ബഡ്ജറു് തയ്യാറാക്കി വേണ്ടതു ചെയ്യാം."

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"ഒന്നൊരണ്ടു കുട്ടികളെ സ്കോളർഷിപ്പോടുകൂടി കോഴിക്കോട്ട് അയച്ച് പരിശീലിപ്പിച്ചുവരുത്താം. അവർ പഠിച്ചുവരാൻ ഒന്നൊരണ്ടു കൊല്ലമേ വേണ്ടിവരികയുള്ളൂ. ഇക്കാലത്തു് രണ്ടുകൊല്ലം എന്നു പറയുന്നതു് രണ്ടു മിനിട്ടുപോലെയാണു്. അതുവരെ നാം ക്ഷമയോടെ കാക്കണം. ഈ കായ്വും അടുത്ത ബഡ്ജറും തയാറാക്കുമ്പോൾ പ്രത്യേകം ശ്രദ്ധിക്കാം."

ഈ വാഗ്ദാനങ്ങളെ അനുസരിച്ചു മത്സ്യവ്യവസായികളുടെ കുട്ടികളെ പുറം രാജ്യങ്ങളിൽ പഠിക്കുവാൻ അയക്കുന്നതിനോ, ഈ സഭയിൽ അംഗീകരിക്കപ്പെട്ട റെസല്യൂഷൻപ്രകാരം വല്ല നടപടിയും നടത്തുന്നതിനോ ഒരുവകയും വരുംകൊല്ലത്തെ അടങ്കലിൽ കൊള്ളിക്കാഞ്ഞതിൽ ഞാൻ വളരെ വ്യസനിക്കുന്നു. "അദ്ദേഹം പറയുന്നതല്ലാതെ പ്രവൃത്തിക്കുകയില്ലെന്നു്" അന്നുതന്നെ ചില മെംബർമാർ ഇവിടെ പരസ്യമായി പറഞ്ഞു. എങ്കിലും ഞാൻ വിശ്വസിച്ചില്ല. ഇപ്പോൾ അവരുടെ വാക്കു ഫലിച്ചു.

പ്രസിഡെണ്ടു്.—ഒന്നും ചെയ്തിട്ടില്ലെ?

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. പി. കറുപ്പൻ.—ഒന്നും ചെയ്തിട്ടില്ല. ഫിഷറി ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടു തുടങ്ങുമ്പോൾ ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടിനുണ്ടായിരുന്ന ഉദ്ദേശങ്ങൾ കേവലം നികുതിപിരിവായിരുന്നില്ല. മത്സ്യസംബന്ധമായ കച്ചവടത്തേയും മത്സ്യവ്യവസായങ്ങളുടെ ഭയനീയമായ സ്ഥിതിയേയും പരിഷ്കരിക്കേണമെന്നായിരുന്നു ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടിന്റെ പ്രധാനോദ്ദേശം. മിസ്റ്റർ എ. ആർ. ബാനർജി ദിവാനായിരുന്നകാലത്താണു പ്രസ്തുത ഡിപാർട്ടുമെണ്ടു് ഏർപ്പെടുത്തിയതു്. ഫർണ്ണൊൽ ഇതുസംബന്ധമായി പ്രസിദ്ധീകരിച്ച ദിവാൻസ് പ്രൊസീഡിംഗ്സിൽ ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടിന്റെ ശ്രദ്ധയെ വിനയപൂർവ്വം ഞാൻ ക്ഷണിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

ഈ പ്രൊസീഡിംഗ്സിനെ ആസ്പദമാക്കി മിസ്റ്റർ എ. ബി. സേലം കായ്വുസമ്പൂർണ്ണമായ ഒരു റിപ്പോർട്ടു പ്രസിദ്ധീകരിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു്. അതിൽ അദ്ദേഹം നിർദ്ദേശിച്ചിരുന്ന ഒരു സംഗതിയും നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തുവാൻ ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടു കൂട്ടാക്കീട്ടില്ലെന്നു് വ്യസനസമേതം പറയാതെ നിവൃത്തിയില്ല.

പ്രസിഡെണ്ടു്.—അതനുസരിച്ചു് ഒന്നും ചെയ്തില്ലെന്നാണൊ പറയുന്നതു്?

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. പി. കറുപ്പൻ.—ഇല്ല, സർ.

President.—Did the Diwan Peishkar propose any expenditure?

Mr. A. K. Vengu Ayyar.—He did not.

Dr. A. G. Menon.—The report contains that. What Mr. Karuppan said was from the report.

President.—I want to know whether he proposed any expenditure, or whether the Government vetoed any of his proposals. Were none of Mr. Salem's recommendations accepted?

Mr. A. B. Salem.—As far as the income was concerned, the recommendations were accepted. Other recommendations

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like the introduction of caution posts, appointment of a staff, etc., were adopted.

പ്രസിഡെണ്ടു്.—ആദായം കിട്ടാവുന്നതൊക്കെ ചെയ്തിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നാണു് പറയുന്നതു്.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. പി. കറുപ്പൻ.—ആദായം കിട്ടുന്ന നടപടികൾനടത്തിയതുകൊണ്ടു് ജനങ്ങൾക്കു് ഗുണമില്ലല്ലൊ.

പ്രസിഡെണ്ടു്.—ഏതായാലുംഒന്നും ചെയ്തിട്ടില്ലെന്നുപറഞ്ഞുക്കൂടാ.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. പി. കറുപ്പൻ.—ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിൽനിന്നും ഈ വ്യവസായത്തിനും ഇതുകൊണ്ടുനടക്കുന്ന പാവപ്പെട്ടവർക്കും എന്തെല്ലാംസഹായങ്ങൾ ചെയ്കൊടുത്തിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നുള്ള അർത്ഥത്തിൽ ഞാൻ ചോദ്യംചെയ്തതിനു് ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട റെവന്യൂ മെംബർ പറഞ്ഞ മറുപടി ദയനീയമായിരുന്നു. "അതായതു് മത്സ്യവ്യവസായത്തെ അഭിവൃദ്ധിപ്പെടുത്തേണ്ടതു് അതിൽ ഏർപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്നവരുടെ ഉന്നതല ആകുന്നു. തറവില കൂടാതെ വ്യവസായത്തിനുവേണ്ടുന്ന സ്ഥലം പതിച്ചുകൊടുക്കുക മുതലായവ യഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനു് സാധിക്കുകയുള്ളൂ". ഈ അർത്ഥത്തിലുള്ള മറുപടി, ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ മുൻ ഉദ്ദേശത്തിനു് വിപരീതമായിട്ടുള്ളതാകുന്നു. കൃഷി ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടിനേയും മറും അപേക്ഷിച്ചു കൂടുതൽ ഉന്നതലയോടുകൂടി നേരിട്ടുഭരിക്കേണ്ട ഒന്നാകുന്നുഫിഷറിഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടു് ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ മുൻ വാഗ്ദാനം ഈ അഭിപ്രായത്തെ നല്ലവണ്ണംഅനുകൂലിക്കുന്നു.

Mr. K. P. Karuppan.—Diwan's Proceedings of 1907.—"Next to Agriculture, if there is any branch of industry which is capable of considerable development, it is pisciculture. This is recognised in all the civilised countries as a necessary complement to agriculture in that it supplements the food supply of the poor population. The responsibility of the Government in dealing with Fisheries are *more direct* than those connected with the development of Agriculture as the sea, river and other inland waters are the special properties of the sovereign. For private enterprises to succeed in an industry of this kind, State help is absolutely necessary, and in this more so than Agriculture and other industries. Organised action can only be initiated by the Government."

ഫിഷറി സംബന്ധമായി എന്തെല്ലാംസഹായങ്ങൾ ഉടനെ ചെയ്യുമെന്നും കൂടുതൽ സന്തോഷകരമായ വാഗ്ദാനം ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട റെവന്യു മെംബറുടെ മറുപടിയിൽനിന്നും അറിയാറാകുമെന്നുള്ള ആശംസയോടുകൂടി ഈ 'അടങ്ങൽ വിമർശത്തെ' ഞാൻ ഇവിടെ ഉപസംഹരിക്കുന്നു.

Mr. A. Eachara Menon.—Sir, I offer my hearty congratulations to the Finance Member, and through him to the Government for presenting to us a surplus budget. But I cannot see eye to eye with him when he says 'that we are in a financially stable condition.' It would have been right, if there had been a forecast that we would be able to show a surplus budget next year after providing like this year for all the

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departments. The stability depends mainly on the nature of the receipts. Among the receipts we find an amount of Rs. 30,000 under Capital under Revenue. This cannot be a recurring income. I fear the Revenue Member may not be able to guarantee the sum even for the next year. The Special Finance Committee is not going to give us a day more after 1102 for the retention of the Tramway. In that case, the income under 'Forests' would materially diminish. We have then to depend entirely on the fluctuating income from the Excise. Happily, there is no near prospect of the prohibition being effected. The surplus this year is only a lakh and a half. This is after making use of a lakh and forty thousand from the interest. Such being the case, I am at a loss to understand how we are financially on stable ground. No provision has been made for productive works except the Harbour Works. What will be its fate, future alone can tell. What would be our share in the receipts if it proves successful is shrowded in mystery.

President.—We budgetted for 8 lakhs this year, and we got 9 lakhs.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—We will always get more.

President.—That we cannot say. The future is in the lap of the gods.

Mr. A. Eachara Menon.—I do not refer to the amount that we get now but to what our share will be after the work is fully completed.

President.—We will get a very substantial increase, say 30 lakhs of rupees.

Mr. A. Eachara Menon.—If it proves successful.

President.—On that point also there is hope.

Mr. A. Eachara Menon.—My only prayer, and I would request you all to join me in it, is that it should not turn out to be another 'Back Bay' reclamation affair. There are other works, very important, which would, apart from being beneficial to the subjects of His Highness, bring a surer income to the State—one such is the opening of the northern channel at the Moolathara Anicut in the Chittur Taluk. More about this when I speak on the cut motion. Sir, the prosperity of the State depends entirely upon the prosperity of its people. Their prosperity depends upon the food and health that they have. More than 95 per cent of the people of the State depend upon agriculture. The population is increasing, but no acre of land has been added to the State. Unless people take to intensive scientific cultivation, there is no hope of rescuing themselves from drifting into penury and abject starvation. It is to help the ryots in this direction that this knowledge of

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scientific education should be carried to the very doors of the ryots by opening demonstration farms in every village. The Superintendent justifies himself by observing that the rules proposed by him in that direction were not acceptable to the ryots. What were the rules and who were the persons approached? I can certainly say that nobody in Chittur has been seriously consulted, for when I ought certainly to have known it, I being an owner cultivator. What the experimental farm at Vyttila is to Cochin-Kanayannur, and Irinjalakkuda that is an experimental farm to Vadakkancheri and Chittur.

The next thing that should be done to agriculture is proper irrigation. Last year, in the Chittur Taluk the crops have failed for want of water. The distribution was unsatisfactory. The Chief Engineer, to a question from me said that he had followed the rules. There are no rules permitting him to give water to new reclamations starving the settled lands. The rules simply say that water should not be taken down to a particular section at a particular anicut reading. The rules do not prohibit them to give water to lower down lands if there is water in excess of that required by the settled lands in the upper section. My only request is to take a kindlier view of the question we ask, and remedy the defect they suggest, if any, after enquiry.

With regard to health, I am extremely sorry to recall the reply given to me to my request that Sir Ronald Ross may be consulted to protect the people of the eastern-most villages of the Chittur Taluk from the ravages of malaria.

President.—He visited Singapore and other Malaya States, and I understand there is a scheme of his for malarial prevention. Is that of any use to us?

Diwan Bahadur Dr. V. Verghese.—It is opposed by all anti-malarial officers now in the Madras Presidency. It is only a question of funds. If we have got money, we can also adopt his scheme.

Mr. A. Eachara Menon.—I shall read a little bit from a report. What the Dr. says is not quite correct. I shall not advert on it but shall content myself by reading a few sentences from a review of Sir Ronald's action in the matter.

"The one bright spot of Sir Ronald Ross' tour was his visit to Malaya, where under the enthusiastic direction of Sir Malcolm Watson, the most persistent, the widest and the most successful of malarial control campaigns in British areas perhaps in the world has been carried out. Singapore has been rendered free of the disease and throughout Malaya it has been reduced to infinitely small proportions. What Singapore and

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Malaya have done, Bombay and other towns and districts in India can do. We have often heard it said that it is ridiculous to talk of wiping completely out of Indian towns and villages the malaria carrying mosquito since measures to do this would be prohibitive as regards cost. Sir Ronald Ross has made it clear in his report that the complete extinction of mosquitoes is not aimed at, and is necessary. All that is required is that the malaria-carrying *Anopheles* should be so reduced in numbers by the destruction of their breeding grounds that, for ineffective purposes they become, to all intents and purposes, negligible. This is far from being beyond the power of any *Indian city or village to accomplish.* Where nothing is done, as Sir Ronald Ross points out, great loss in health, money and life continues to be inflicted on the suffering people—losses which cost the community far more than an up-to-date anti-malaria campaign would do.

In the face of this description is it too much to ask the Government of Cochin to get it tried here ? If the Government wills it, there will be a way.

Thus you will be pleased to see, Sir, that there are great drawbacks in the fulfilment of the primary duty of the Government in looking after the welfare of the people. Much as I would thank the Government for proposing in the budget to do many things for the good of the people, I could not sit idle without bringing to the notice their utter want of foresight in the amelioration of the condition of the beloved and loyal subjects of His Highness the Maharaja. May His Highness live long !

Mr. N. Padmanabha Menon.—Sir, I make no apology when I offer a few remarks on the budget that is presented before this House. In the first place, I thank the Diwan for his remarks on the budget. They were sympathetic towards non-official criticisms. We were happy to hear them. We would have been happier had he been able to translate his sympathies into action.

I do not know whether the Finance Member takes any credit for the budget. True it is that the estimated receipts for the coming year is in excess of the estimated disbursements. That is not a reason for calling it a prosperous budget or a surplus one. Even the name of balanced budget will only be correct literally. It is not a balanced budget in the sense in which the expression is used in Politics and in Finance. Sir, in the budget before us, the same provision as in previous years has been made to maintain a top-heavy administration and to feed a service that is over-manned in some cases and under-

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manned in others. All the demerits, and, may I say, all the merits of the previous budget are present in this also. There is the same indifference to the cry of the Members of this Council for reforms. The same miserly treatment of those departments that exist to advance the material well-being of the State and the same reluctance on the part of the Government to give up their time-honoured systems, even though they are against every accepted principle of good and responsible government, are visible in every item of your demands. The budget at best is a colourless one. The Government may turn round and say that a Special Finance Committee is preparing a report and with the report the millenium may dawn. Sir, I do not anticipate anything, nor do I forestall the Committee in any of their proposals, but you will pardon me, if I say that from the past attitude of the Government to the criticisms of 30 elected representatives of the people assembled in this House a less patient man than myself is tempted to turn sceptic. But, Sir, man lives in hope, and we shall also do the same. Let us wait for strictly administrative reforms till the Special Finance Committee reports, but let us also pray the Government to pass early orders on the report when it comes and to give this House an opportunity to discuss their report.

Apart from these what about other matters that do not depend upon the Committee's report? The provision for works in the Agricultural department that go to advance the material well-being of the people is insufficient in the extreme. What with the costly experimental farms, and more costly experiments by the department itself, the essential needs of the people have been completely forgotten. It has been brought to the notice of the Government by speaker after speaker from the floor of this House that there should be more model farms on a smaller and less costly scale in all the Taluks of the State and that the department should be in touch with the ordinary farmer of the land in order to induce him to betake himself to new and improved methods of agriculture. In this respect the department will not be able to give a creditable account of itself. Again, Sir, the necessity for more seed and manure depots in various parts of the State was emphasised by many Members of this House on more occasions than one. It is with a feeling of despair that I ask whether the Government has done anything in this matter. The people of the land can live without graft mangoes and pine-apples and rare varieties of vegetables, but they cannot live without food. I challenge the department to say whether it has been the instrument to increase the productive capacity of the land to any appreciable extent or to improve the

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material condition of the agriculturists. It is absolutely necessary to widen the scope of the Agricultural Department in the light of the observations made in this House and on the lines suggested by us, so that it may become a source of advantage to the people and not a burden as it is now.

Sir, times out of number we have cried ourselves hoarse that the Panchayats should be placed under a separate officer. In your remarks yesterday you dwelt upon the importance of rural reconstruction. It has assumed great importance in British India. It is high time for us to take it up. To carry on an efficient system of rural reconstruction there is no more convenient agency in our State than the Village Panchayats. Rural reconstruction, in short, means the complete co-ordination of many departments. The Medical, the Education, the Agriculture, the Co-operative, the Sanitary, all these departmental activities must be co-ordinated to organise an efficient system of rural reconstruction. The Panchayats are the proper bodies to bring them into harmonious co-ordination. Chosen by the people and depending for their office on the people, devoid of official red-tapism and in daily touch with the people of the Villages, the Panchayatdars are the proper connecting links between the Government and the people. I may also remark that the problem of the depressed classes can be tackled successfully only by an efficient system of rural reconstruction. Apart from the departmental exigencies this is a strong argument for the separation of these two departments

Sir, I shall pass on to the Co-operative Department. In spite of the existence of the department in the State for a long time and in spite of the Central Bank and the Institute and, Sir, in spite of the Annual Administration Reports, the movement has touched only the fringe of the problem. There are now more than 140 societies of which nearly 140 are loan societies. I do not decry them. They are a necessity. But besides them, Agricultural Loan Societies, Land Mortgage Banks, Co-operative purchase Societies, and Co-operative Stores must come into existence in order to relieve the people from many of their burdens. The poor agriculturists want seeds in time of sowing. They borrow money at a killing rate of interest to purchase seeds, and, in some cases, to meet their daily wants. In time of harvest their produce lacks purchasers and markets. The agriculturists have to accept a low price, and in many instances, the money-lender himself becomes the purchaser. This is true even in other minor industrial concerns. The Co-operative Department, if properly handled, will become a potent instrument to relieve this distress. The department, as it exists to

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day, is powerless to work in this direction. The staff is insufficient. The activities of the Central Bank are questionable, and the institute has not justified its existence. Sir, it is high time that the department is so strengthened as to make it an efficient supervising agency. It is still a disputed matter in other countries whether supervision by Unions or supervision by Government directly, is more beneficial for the spread of the movement. But all are agreed that in a place where the movement is in its infancy the Government must take the lead and excercise greater supervision. When I contemplate the tardy policy of the Government in this matter, I am constrained to observe that they consider this department more as a necessary evil in a scheme of civilised government than as a potent instrument to relieve the poverty of the people. It is also a mistake to suppose that the movement must be a purely non-official one. That is the ideal I admit. But it is the duty of the Government to plant it firmly in the land. The aggregate circulating capital in all the societies taken together, comes to only 14 lakhs of rupees—a sum which is only a drop in an ocean.

Sir, the Economic Development Committee is a standing wonder. I believe the Members of this House have sufficient sense of humour to appreciate its negative virtues. After being in existence for more than one year, they were only able to decide that certain things could not be done. I refer my colleagues in this House to the minutes of the Committee meeting published in the Government Gazette. I do not know whether that estimable body realises its own functions. We are sometimes told that many problems which affect the economic condition of the people have been referred to this body. Sir, we have been the dupes of expectation. May I request the Committee to open their eyes to the depressed economic condition of our people, and do something to justify their existence in the eyes of both the Government and the people? It is rumoured that an economic survey is in contemplation. If it is a fact, it is a most welcome move. But I fear that an additional staff with costly appendages will be organised. We enter an emphatic protest against any such idea on the part of the Government. If the economic survey is to be effective, the services of the Village Panchayats should be requisitioned. Statistics dealing with the resources and economic indebtedness of the people should be collected, and the Committee should devise effective and practical measures to cope with the situation. It has been the bane of our Government to spend money to bring costly and large schemes into existence, and then commit them into oblivion. Sir, it is our prayer that, if the Committee succeeds in bringing out some practical scheme, it may not share the same fate.

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Sir, with your leave, I pass on to the Forest and Tramway Departments. It has been our constant complaint that our forests are being denuded of their valuable trees without proportionate advantages to the State. The Special Finance Committee has recommended the abolition of the Tramway in Makaram 1103. Yet we find an increased demand for the removal of timber by the Sirkar Agency and for the purchase of new engines for the Tramway. If the department will not cut down more trees on Government expense, an additional engine is not necessary to work the Tramway. Unless the Member in charge satisfies the House that this increase is absolutely necessary, I request the House to consider twice before the demand is voted. Further observations on this may be postponed to the time when the specific motion for the grant is reached.

Then, Sir, there is the Medical Department. The House is faced with the startling fact in the budget that a sum of nearly Rs. 45,000 is in arrears on account of the purchase of medicines. Whatever may be the explanation, and we are accustomed to hear all sorts of explanations when anything goes wrong, for this huge accumulation of arrears it is plain that the system of purchasing medicines for the department deserves public scrutiny. If we look into the budget estimate of 1093, we shall see that nearly Rs. 50,000 have been allowed to lapse under this head. The Government owes an explanation to this House for these huge lapses in some years and this huge accumulation of arrears now. Another feature of the budget is the reluctance of the Government to introduce the honorary system of medical relief. The determination of this House to see the system introduced into our State, and the approval of such a system by the public press was made manifest to the Government when the Medical Relief Bill was discussed. With an obstinacy not in keeping with the prestige of a sympathetic Government, and by an ungraceful fling as unwarranted as it is uncalled for at the private practitioners in the State, and by requisitioning every kind of untenable argument to its aid, the Government has refused to accept a beneficial measure though they had to concede its principle.

President.—There was no obstinacy. Let there not be a charge of obstinacy. That was the honest opinion we arrived at.

Mr. N. Padmanabha Menon.—Our honest opinion is that the Government did not allow us even the chance of sending the Bill to a Select Commitee, so that practical clauses may be introduced in it. That is what I call obstinacy.

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President.—Can the Government retort by saying that you, even after discussing the matter, remained obstinate. Those are not graceful remarks. I do not want to shut you out by saying that it is an unparliamentary expression, and you should withdraw that, but I say you should be a little more generous to the Government.

Mr. N. Padmanabha Menon.—We are prepared to meet the Government half-way in all respects, but in ninety cases out of hundred Government is not prepared to meet us half-way.

President.—Then why do we call you here?

Mr. N. Padmanabha Menon. The Finance Member has in his speech said, Sir, "the very sitting of this Council will become dull and monotonous if we are not enlivened by the candid criticisms of some of our friends on the opposite side." Sir, in this connection, I may inform you that we are not at all called here "for enlivened criticisms" (*Laughter*) but to do some useful work.

President.—I thought he was thereby complimenting the Members of the Council. Has it turned out otherwise?

Dr. A. G. Menon.—It cuts both ways. (*Laughter.*)

Mr. N. Padmanabha Menon.—The strength and weakness of the Government were apparent from that discussion. We had hopes that they would make a decided advance in the direction of honorary system this year. Nothing has been done till now. I congratulate the Member in charge of the Department on his good fortune and ability to withstand our almost unanimous wishes. Sir, may I inform the Government that the introduction of this honorary system with all its broad and liberal principles at the earliest possible opportunity is absolutely necessary for the well-being of the public? Again, Sir, the Head of the Medical Department should not be allowed to practise on his own accord. A practising head of the departmental administration is an anomaly.

Sir, when we turn our attention from these to the Education and Public Works Departments, we see some bright spots on the horizon. I do not say that the administration of these departments is all that we wish it to be. But we see in it a change of heart. The Public Works Department has rightly understood the needs of the people when it proposes to enquire into the question of irrigation schemes in the State. We don't want costly buildings. A limit has to be fixed for the construction of these. On the other hand, practical schemes to minimise the effects of draughts and floods on the arable lands have become an absolute necessity. Our only request is that the Gov-

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ernment may not meet out to future irrigation schemes the same treatment they gave to a previous scheme submitted by a special officer. It is our considered opinion that the Government did a mistake in not accepting a resolution requesting them to set apart one lakh of rupees for agricultural improvement alone.

The desire of the Education Department to introduce agricultural training in primary schools, to make the half-time system in Vernacular schools more general, and to make additional provision for the education of the depressed classes are some of the desirable changes we see in the budget. We welcome them with all our heart. But in the matter of spinning, the department has not made sufficient provision. The figures in the budget do not give sufficient encouragement for that most useful domestic industry which alone can give a supplemental income to the toiling thousands of the State. Sir, in the matter of the education of the depressed classes, the Government has appreciated only one aspect of it. The elevation of the depressed classes is a large problem. Their education is not the last word in it. There is no use in giving only a purely primary education to the poor boys who are ground down in many other walks of life. If we wean them from their old habits and collect them in our schools, we shall be sending them out of these institutions to drift in the world. There must be sufficient openings for them to enter when they once leave the school. Side by side with the advance of primary education among these classes, provision should be made for the economic advancement of the community as a whole. I do not know whether it is the Education Department or the Economical Development Committee that should take up this aspect of the problem. A system of co-operative cultivation sale and purchase must be introduced among them. The Protector of the depressed classes must protect them from drink—an evil to which most of them are addicted now. The condition of their wages must be enquired into. If a section of the people in the State tyrannises over them in social matters, there is another section that tyrannises them in educational and in other economic matters. Between the social tyrant and the economic tyrant, the lot of the poor labourer is hard in the extreme. We believe the Proctector will turn his attention to these important questions. I postpone further remarks to the time when the Protector unfolds his scheme.

Sir, I shall close these remarks with a suggestion that the appointment of a non-official to the Harbour Board, if possible a Member of this House, is essential in the best interests of the State.

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President.—I think Mr. Koder is a Member.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Not from our Government. He is nominated by the British Government.

President.—But can he not represent our cause also?

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Yes, we have got the Diwan Peishkar and the Chief Engineer——they are officials——and Mr. Umer Hajee Sait from Mattancheri.

Mr. N. Padmanabha Menon.—We want a non-official Member, if possible a Member of this House. The Harbour question is one that affects the State and its people most vitally. The presence of a non-official in that body will be of immense use both to the Government and to the people. In this respect we must take a lesson from the Travancore Government.

Sir, one word regarding the Cranganur budget, and I have done. I must bring to the notice of the Government the stepmotherly way in which Cranganur matters are treated by the Government. In justice to the Diwan, I must say he is most sympathetic when Cranganur affairs are brought to his notice. But I am sorry to observe that those sympathies do not assume tangible form.

President.—Give us more funds.

Mr. N. Padmanabha Menon.—I submit there are sufficient funds.

Several months ago the Government promised to give a portion of the Canal dues collected in the Tiruvanchikulam Canal Office to Cranganur Treasury. The little principality is entitled to its share however small it may be. I used to remind them of their promise at every possible moment. Nothing has yet been done in this matter by the Government. It is only a matter of calculation to arrive at the proper amount to be given to this Taluk. Again, Sir, the Cranganur Treasury is entitled to get a portion of the rebate on Ganja and Opium. I represented this matter also to the Government, and there is a promise to look into it. Let me once more request the Government with all the earnestness and force that I could command that these little financial matters may be adjusted on a satisfactory basis as early as possible, so that the poor starving Cranganur Treasury may get at least a few hundreds of rupees to be spent on beneficial works in Cranganur. Placed as Cranganur is in financial matters, it is impossible to carry on the requirements of that principality if funds that are legally due to it are not forthcoming. I shall also urge the Government to go into the question of connecting Cranganur with the mainland of Cochin State by a bridge so that the geographical isolation of the Taluk with its concomitant numberless inconveniences may be done away with.

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President.—It is impossible. It is only recently we had the idea of connecting the backwater either at Kakathurithi or at Mathilakam. Of course, that is being considered.

Mr N. Padmanabha Menon.—You will allow me to submit that your ideas are useless, unless they are translated into practice.

The bridge question was brought before the Government as early as 1096. It is a matter for regret that nothing has yet been done in this matter.

President.—But for six years we were looking into an impracticable project.

Mr. N. Padmanabha Menon.—The bridge question was brought to the notice of the Government in 1096, and it is the fault of the Government that they looked into impracticable projects alone.

The Diwan and the Chief Engineer have looked into this question personally when they visited Cranganur, and, if I am not mistaken, I believe they were satisfied with its pressing necessity. The question of communications also must receive the special attention of the Government. The people of the place sent in petitions after petitions to open a drainage canal to west of the temple to drain away the enormous quantity of water that collects there during the monsoon. The Diwan and Chief Engineer visited the locality and the latter gave verbal orders to the Overseer there to submit a scheme and an estimate as early as possible. That was months ago. It is a wonder to me how that item of work was not included in the present budget. Sir, these are very important matters for that principality. I request the Government to bestow their immediate attention on these.

These are only general remarks on the budget Points for detailed discussion may be raised when specific demands are moved.

President.—Just one word. You referred to the question of rural reconstruction. I find that certain gentlemen have been contributing a series of articles on the subject. I don't know what their points are. It is by one Mr. Sastri or so, is it not, Mr. Salem? I simply glanced through them; that is all. You will kindly look into them.

Mr. C. Achyuta Menon.—If anybody wants to study the subject of rural reconstruction, Poona is the best place.

President.—In Mysore, I think, the Maharaja has tried.

Mr. C. Achyuta Menon.—That is more as charity than as a co-operative self-help.

President.—We shall rise for the day.

The House rose for the day, it being 5 p. m.

T. K. KRISHNA MENON,
Secretary to the Council

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